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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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MEN AND THINGS OF THE WEEK

POINTED COMMENT FROM SOCIALIST STANDPOINT.

America Good Field for Foreign Capital to Invest in—Material Base of Religion Manifested—Conduct of Woman Suffragists Contrasted with Antis.

Any wonder European capitalists are ever anxious to invest in American securities in preference to securities in their own country? Just contrast the "law abiding" posture of the New York National Federation of Post Office Clerks with the "riotous" conduct of their Parisian fellows; just contrast the latter's "vituperative language" with the cooing dove tone the former use in referring to their official superiors. Truly America is the Promised Land—for the International bourgeois.

Frederick Moore, the talented "Sun" correspondent who was wounded during the recent fighting in Constantinople, furnishes, in the course of his description of Albania and her people, the following valuable contribution to the understanding of the political concerns known as "creeds":

"Until about 100 years ago the inhabitants of a certain little group of villages had retained their Christianity. Finding themselves unable to repel the continual attacks of a neighboring Moslem population, they met in a church, solemnly swore that they would fast until Easter and invoked all the saints to work within that period some miracle that would better their miserable lot. If this reasonable request were not granted they would all become Mohammedans. Easter day came, but no sign from saint or angel, and the whole population embraced Islam. Soon thereafter the change of faith was rewarded, for they obtained the arms which they desired and had the satisfaction of massacring their old opponents and taking possession of their lands."

The Madrid, Spain, "El Socialista" gives this vicious all-around dig:

"According to what we read in the daily press the Jesuits of Durango have succeeded in converting to their creed a well-known and fire-eating Anarchist of Bilbao, and the ceremony was celebrated with all the pomp and circumstance that the interesting event demanded.

"The paper, from which we gather the news, adds that the capture or conversion was founded in reasons relating to the stomach.

"The Anarchist in question will have no difficulty in finding a precedent for his action in the biblical passage about Esau.

"If Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage there can be nothing strange in that an Anarchist should barter his conscience for a vulgar stew.

"In the end it is all done for the benefit of the individual's anatomy."

A signed article by Troelstra, the leader of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland, in "Het Volk" of April 20, the organ of the party, commenting upon the appearance of the new Marxist weekly, which is issued under the editorial management of the Marxists who remained loyal to the party, gives little hope that the wounds of the Marxist secession, which matured in the launching of a new party, the Social Democratic Party of Holland, will be healed. Troelstra states:

"The secessionists are mostly the intellectual progeny of the Marxists who remained in the party [and who have the editorial management of the new weekly]. The misconduct which the secessionists were guilty of against the party were merely unbearable exaggerations of that which they were frequently taught by their intellectual parentage."

Seeing that the Marxists' revolt took place to the slogan of "Down with Revisionism!" Troelstra's words, provoked by the loyal Marxist organ, tell plainly enough that the feud is deep-rooted.

Coolly undertaken and systematically conducted frauds against the Government for over ten years, and netting not less than $2,000,000 stolen, having been conclusively fastened upon the Sugar Trust, its President and other officers acknowledge that, "as a result of the trial, they are convinced that fraud was perpetrated." The President and Directors of the Sugar Trust are, according to Mallock, the captains of industry whose directing ability is the sole source of the Company's prosperousness. How come these deposits of ability to need being raked over the coals of a trial in order to be instructed on what was doing in their plant? Can Mallock be wrong? If he is not, then President Thomas, and the rest of the ability-dispensers, are—what?—well we forbear.

"Mr. Chairman," sonorously declared Congressman Benjamin G. Humphreys of Mississippi in the House, "I think it would be a very good mental exercise if every Democrat here would repeat this sentence at least once a day for the next two weeks: 'The tariff is a tax, and the consumer pays it.'"—The sentence is incomplete, defectively so. It should read: "The tariff is a tax, and the capitalist consumer pays it; the working class consumer does not pay a cent of it because he is not a tax payer, the wages he receives being determined by the supply of and the demand for him in the Labor market." This is the sentence that should be repeated at least once a day for the next two weeks by all the Republicans and all the Democrats in Congress, Mr. Humphreys included. The time they may take in learning and repeating the sentence will keep them all away from uttering mischievous nonsense.

'Tis pity and 'tis suspicious that the failed stock brokerage firm of Ennis & Stoppani publish the names of only one of the ministers and of only one of the college professors who gambled in stocks through the firm. It would be interesting to know what other reverends, besides the Rev. Dr. Andrew V. Raymond, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Buffalo, were thus religiously "laying up treasures in heaven" while denouncing Socialists for irreligiousness; and what other college professors, besid[illegible] E. F. Ellwood of the chair of sociology in the University of Missouri at Columbus, were thus sociologically practicing "thrift and industry," while condemning Socialists for wanting to live without work.

The "womanly woman" argument against woman suffrage was placed at a heavy discount by two contemporaneous events—the first entrance of women in the city council of Copenhagen, Denmark, and the campaign conducted in Washington, D. C., by the Daughters of the American Revolution at the election of their General President. Our Daughters, hardly any of whom would "unsex" herself by handling the ballot, presented in numerous instances a picture very much the reverse of the "womanly woman"; the Copenhagen women, on the contrary, all reports concur in describing in colors very much the opposite of the "UNwomanly woman"—and that despite having touched the "unsexing" ballot.

On the Burlington Railroad, near Chicago, a device that will automatically stop trains upon a danger signal has been in successful operation for a year, not missing a single trial, summer or winter. Yet 798 persons, employes and passengers, were killed on the roads of the country for the last three months of 1908. The railroads' motto is: "Why spend money for safety devices, even perfect ones, when human life is cheaper?"

There surely is progress in the move of Local New York of the Socialist party in demanding, however timidly, that the party at least have a voice in the election of the Editor of the "Call." But—

The move will come like a shock to the innocents who, being in the habit of swallowing Mr. Robert Hunter's loose and reckless statements, read last summer and accepted as true the gentleman's article on the "Party Press" in the Chicago "Daily Socialist," to the effect that the Editors of the S. P. press were all elected by the party membership. The move to strive to get some kind of control over the "party press" surely is progress. But—again—

The knowing will wink an eye when they learn that on the party committee to make the demand is Mr. Alexander Jonas of the Volkszeitung Corporation, who and which would rear on their spavined hind legs and snort defiance were their "Partei" to demand that it have a voice in the election of the Editor of the "Volkszeitung."

Not often does a child, 13 years of age, contribute so much to general information as did Adele Boas, the 13-year-old daughter of the rich silk merchant, Arthur E. Boas, in one short sentence. The child was missed from home for several days. Detectives, sent out in quest of her, found her on a train hiding her face behind a newspaper. Her statement to them was: "I left home because I wanted to be independent and earn my own living." What a flood of light upon the standard of life in the homes of our modern rich! What a flood of light upon the family relations of our pillars of the sanctity of the home!

Lo, a bare-foot mendicant friar on the Board of Education. The women teachers being active in organizing to secure higher pay, Commissioner Freifield with[illegible] them with the remark: "the attitude of the women teachers is a sordid striving after more money." It would be just like the "blackguard Socialists" to impute the disinterested sentiments of this bare-foot mendicant friar to the doubly sordid desire to protect himself, a tax-payer, from the increased taxes that an increase of pay to the underpaid and overworked women teachers would involve.

Lack of thoroughness has never been one of the failings attributed to Jos. H. Choate, and yet he did not go near far enough when he urged his hearers at the Associated Press banquet to leave out of their papers suicides, divorces and family scandals. All land frauds, customs dodging, rebate-taking, illegal combination, bank looting, labor law violation, and a host of other things indulged in by our moneyed over-lords should also have been named. Then the press would become truly harmless for consumption by the working class.

Whoever Patrick Donahue may be, whether a "hireling of Belmont," or "a hireling of Morgan-McAdoo," he deserves credit for the pluck with which he tore off the Sprague Smith mask of democracy at the public meeting called by Mr. Sprague Smith's "People's(?) Institute(?)" to consider the rapid transit situation. A large concourse responded to the call, but when Donahue offered a resolution, different from the one that Tribune Sprague Smith had brought in his pocket, the worthy Tribune declared it out of order; and when, this notwithstanding, Donahue put his motion to a vote and it was carried overwhelmingly, Tribune Sprague Smith declared the meeting was "packed." The double attitude of silliness and browbeating by Master Sprague Smith is luminous of the tribe of "democratic reformers."

Though thousands of others will remain out of job in New Jersey, three men in each municipality are soon to be taken care of snugly. They will be the three appointees in the several municipalities who are to decide whom barkeepers may sell liquor to, and whom not. The Board is justly named a "Board of PROTECTORS." It protects the lucky three. They will be so full of "convincing arguments" that no longer will they be put to it to pay their bills.

EYES OF THE POOR.

"Doctor," growled the patient, "it seems to me that $500 is a big charge for that operation of mine. It didn't take you over half a minute."

"My dear sir," replied the famous specialist, "in learning to perform that operation in half a minute, I have spoiled over eleven pecks of such eyes as yours among the free patients in my dispensary."

THE REFERENDUM IN TURKEY

With us here in America, when the party dominant in Congress has adopted a decision, a "knot is tied," in order to prevent slippings, by a motion to reconsider, followed immediately by a motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. The motion to lay on the table being carried with the promptness usual with such motions, the episode is closed. In modern Turkey the parliamentary practice to accomplish the same end, in cases of deposing the monarch, seems to be for the Sheik-ul-Islam to issue a decree to that effect, which, being ratified by motion in parliament, the knot is likewise tied, the episode is closed. The practice was put into effective operation upon the Sultan.

Abdul Hamid being now done for and the Constitution emphatically re-asserted, a bird's-eye view of the stirring events that occurred since the palace mutiny of April 13 brings into relief just one significant fact and lesson, a fact and lesson that all the dust of the turmoil should not suffice to becloud—THE REFERENDUM NEEDS NO LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENT: IT IS A THING DE FACTO: ANY COUNTRY CAN HAVE IT FOR THE WILLING. Turkey has willed, and applied the referendum with swiftness and precision.

When, incited with money and prelatism, some 7,000 Moslem soldiers in Constantinople broke loose from their officers, and, led by sergeants, surrounded the parliament, demanded the deposition of the Young Turks ministry, slaughtered those they could lay hands on, and virtually restored the loathsome regime which the Constitution had replaced—when these events occurred the language, inspired from the Yildiz Kiosk, no doubt, was that the parliament consisted only of puppets, that the real ruler was the Committee of Union and Progress, and that this organization had only upturned one autocracy to substitute a worse. The Editors of the two Turkish papers in New York had themselves interviewed and expressed these views, and their views were echoed and reechoed in the columns of the capitalist press. Exactly two weeks after the "puppets" had been told what was what, a salute of 101 guns, ordered by that very parliament of "puppets," announced the end of Abdul Hamid and the beginning of a new reign, with Constantinople, and virtually all Turkey well in hand.

What was it that had happened? A miracle? The age of miracles is gone by. What happened was that the referendum—an automatically working thing, if at all in working order,—was heard from.

Members of a delegated body are not Topsies that "grow" but are not "born." They are born of the will of constituents who are clear on what they want, and, therefore, are organized to get it. If the delegates are legitimate children of their parentage their action can not choose but reflect the will of those not seated in the parliament, and these are ever ready organized for the referendum. To monkey with such a delegation, backed by such an organization, is to monkey with a buzz-saw—as Abdul Hamid in Turkey did, and our own Abdul Hamids will eventually find out.

"All About the Referendum" should be the collective title of the last two weeks' happenings in Turkey.

MAY DAY MEETING

BIGGEST AUDIENCE FOR YEARS JAMS COOPER UNION.

Keynote of Demonstration Struck by Reception to Jan Pouren, the Rescued Refugee—Audience of Three Thousand Carries Ringing Resolutions With a Vim—Addresses by Pouren, Chas. H. Corregan, Daniel De Leon, Joseph Schlossberg, and James T. Hunter.

With an audience that packed Cooper Union fuller than it has been packed on similar occasions for many a year, Section New York County, Socialist Labor Party, held its annual May Day demonstration on May 1st.

And a demonstration it was, with a capital D. From the moment, shortly after 8 o'clock, when Organizer Abelson called the meeting to order, until long after 11, when the last speaker had made his last bow to the wildly cheering audience, it was one feast of enthusiasm and inspiration, making it clear that, as Chairman Levine declared, the working class would soon put an end to the present order of things.

Perhaps the keynote of the demonstration was set by the reception given to Jan Janoff Pouren. At the mention of his name the huge audience broke loose with cries and hand-clappings, which died down only a second to allow Chairman Levine to introduce him, and then broke loose again wilder than before.

Pale, shaken in health by his fifteen months' imprisonment in the Tombs at the Czar's behest, Pouren delivered a brief address in his native tongue, Lettish. Though his voice was weak and low, the large house was so still a pin would have been heard dropping, and nearly every word carried. All, whether they understood him or not, hung on the words of this man whom only the united action of the working class of America saved from the Czar's hangman, and when, at the close of his brief talk, he added a few words in English, the applause was so deafening that it came like a roar of thunder after the unusual stillness maintained while he was speaking. "The Russian Government seems to be a good friend of mine; this is the second time it has arrested me?" he said, making a brave effort with the English. Nowhere that Pouren has spoken since he was released, it is safe to say, was he received with more vigor and heartfelt rejoicing than at this demonstration.

Immediately upon the close of Pouren's address, the following resolutions were read, and unanimously adopted with a rousing three-times-three:

Whereas, By leaps and bounds the irrefutable evidence is piling up, making it clear even to him who would keep his eyes shut, that our ruling class is a class of corruptionists and incompetents, and that their society is one vast sink of illegality and crime;

Whereas, These gigantic shames, huge as they are, pale into insignificance beside the fact that this class only lives and has its being by plundering Labor of the lion's share of what it produces;

Whereas, The present system is unavoidably one of turmoil, strife, and disorder;

Whereas, In every civilized country of the globe the working class is face to face with a similar problem, and a reconstruction can only take place and a relapse to barbarism be averted by the working class of the world stepping into the control of industry and itself administering production; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, class conscious workingmen and women of New York, assembled in open mass meeting this First of May, 1909, do hereby send militant Socialist greetings to our comrades of the world, wiping out all color and national lines, from whatever source they may be instigated;

Resolved, That we once more pledge ourselves unshakeably to hold our post in the international battle of the workers against the exploiters for the establishment of peace on earth; and, be it further

Resolved, That we seize with joy this opportunity to register one mighty united demand for the abrogation of the present extradition treaty with Russia, by means of which the noble revolutionists of that country are now being hounded and harassed, and the attempt is made by the Muscovite to use the government of the United States as a tool for the execution of Russian iniquities.

Daniel De Leon was the next speaker, and the customary ovation greeted his appearance.

"I may not forget," De Leon said, that May Day symoblizes peace," and this idea characterized his speech. "The resolutions you have just heard," he continued, "will no doubt be termed blackguardly by those whom they hit. Yet every word of them is true. It is not the Socialist who has uncovered a vessel of filth, but the fumes from that vessel itself which have pushed up the lid."

Taking the great American Sugar Trust scandal and the increasing naval armaments of all countries as typical of conditions to-day, De Leon showed that there was but one class which supported the world on its shoulders, and had no interest in war. That was the working class, peace was its aspiration, and May Day its chosen day to signalize that aspiration.

"Man is the one animal that is born without the tool it needs to protect itself against nature," he continued. "Man, a tool-using animal, was born toolless. To-day he has conquered nature, but is still helpless. A class, the capitalist class, has grown up between man and the tool he needs to live by. While this condition lasts, the state of the world can not but be one of war. It is the mission of the working class to establish peace upon the earth—not the hypocritical peace preached in churches, but the real peace preached in the Socialist movement, and attainable only under the industrial republic."

The first speaker of the evening was Charles H. Corregan, of Syracuse, an old favorite with S. L. P. audiences, who has not been heard in this burg for five years now. "Nothing to my mind is a clearer indication of the development of capitalism," he said, "than the fact that we now have a president chosen from a party that was held responsible for the panic. It shows that the workers to-day feel so dependent on the master class that they will rather hang with them than listen to the protestations of reactionary demagogues."

James T. Hunter also spoke, and Joseph Schlossberg, editor Der Arbeiter, spoke in Jewish.

BROWNSVILLE CELEBRATES.

Large May Day Demonstration Across the River.

Under the auspices of Branch IV, S. L. P. of Brooklyn, a large and successful May Day meeting was held last Saturday afternoon at Metropolitan Saenger Hall, on Pitkin avenue. An audience of over five hundred listened to ringing revolutionary addresses by Joseph Chaiken, J. Vladik, representing the Bund; Joseph Schlossberg, and others. The Schubert Singing Society rendered exquisitely the Marseillaise and a thrilling Russian revolutionary hymn, and H. Jaffa, read a brilliant poem written for the occasion.

AT UNION SQUARE.

At Union Square Saturday afternoon, a stalwart body, six and one half strong, the remnants of the Bush Templars "I-am-a-Bum" outfit, held forth in giant despair to the multitude that was to be but came not. There was an audience of three and one half spectators and three dozen policemen. One of the speakers, Mr. Frank Bohn, said to be a teacher of history(!) at Saxe's Institute, grew blue in the face shouting "Give us a fair day's wage for a fair day's work!" Failing to attract one workingman though repeatedly uttering the phrase, he retired with a scowl upon his dismayed countenance.

Thereupon a Westerner of rotund belly, Ettor, who sports the title of member of the General Executive Board, jumped up, and, referring to the chairman, Trautmann, said: "He may beat me at drinking beer but I can beat him——," the reporter didn't catch the last words. At any rate, whatever they were, Ettor didn't do it, and it was not long after that the whole sturdy six and one half "beat it" disconsolate down Fourth avenue.

PLEBS LEADER DINES WITH PATRICIANS.

No big functions are being held any more in N. Y. City without the attendance of some plebian leader. Invitations to such men while ostensibly meant as a recognition of Labor, are really sops thrown out to hush Labor's murmurings. The presence of plebs leaders are a "recognition" of their worth to the industrial patricians.

The latest of these functions occurred on April 28, when Oscar S. Straus, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and Mrs. Straus were the guests of citizens of New York at the Hotel Astor. The dinner was attended by several hundred business men and officials and John Mitchell, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. Mitchell said that he had known Straus when it was not as fashionable to know a labor man as it is now, and he thanked him on behalf of the labor organizations for his "espousal of the cause of organized labor."

Among those at the dinner were: Collector William Loeb, jr., Gen. Leonard Wood, Cornelius N. Bliss, Edward Lauterbach, John J. McCook, W. G. McAdoo, Admiral Charles D. Sigsbee, Herman Metz, John D. Crimmins, J. Claflin, Nathan Straus, W. F. Havemeyer and Isaac N. Seligman.

COLLEGE PROFESSORS

Preached Protectionism for Their Jobs' Sake, Says Lecturer.

That college professors have bowed to the protectionist doctrine for years because they were afraid to do otherwise, and that they are now likely to be left in a ridiculous position by the retreating tide, was asserted by Byron Holt of the Reform Club Tariff Reform Committee at Columbia last week, in an address before the American Academy of Political Science. It seems that the assertion has drawn much fire from Prof. E. R. A. Seligman and others whom the shoe fitted.

HERVE SUSTAINED.

European exchanges announce that Gustave Herve, the prominent French anti-miliarist, was elected by the National Convention of the French Socialist party, that met at St. Etienne from April 11-15, one of the members of the National Committee. Several resolutions were introduced against Herve by members of the convention who object to his tactics. These were all either voted down, or withdrawn.

SUGAR TRUST'S PLAIN STEALING

GIGANTIC SYSTEM OF TARIFF FRAUDS REVEALED.

For Ten Years Flagrant Cheatery Has Gone on by Which Patriotic Trust, Apparently with Knowledge of Its Officials, Defrauded Government of Millions of Dollars—The Story as Revealed in the Trial.

Greatly to the surprise of all and the doubt of some, it was announced Thursday, April 29, that the American Sugar Refining Co. had confessed its guilt by offering to make a cash payment in settlement of all claims growing out of the recent suit won by the government for the collection of duties fraudulently evaded by the company.

The exact amount of the settlement could not be learned, but it probably will not fall far short of $2,000,000. The settlement affects in no way the outlook for criminal prosecutions of Sugar Trust officers and employes.

Noteworthy was the astounding disclosure made as the trial progressed concerning the systematic and long-continued stealing in which the American Sugar Refining Company engaged. Here was no mere question of rebating or of secret trade agreements, nor even of low business standards or sharp practices. It was a case of larceny as plain as that against the man who robs a bank or steals a jewel casket. Ordinary smuggling even appears almost excusable in comparison.

Whatever illegal operations the Standard Oil Company was guilty of, it can at least be said that they were the result of an attempt to overcome their competitors, who for the most part were not guiltless of like practices. Ruthless and indefensible as they were these acts were committed in the heat of a battle for trade supremacy. But the sugar frauds practiced by the employes of the American Sugar Refining Company were coolly undertaken and carried on through at least a decade in an underhand and flagrantly criminal manner. And worst of all, as the evidence showed, it was practically impossible to have carried on such systematic stealing without the knowledge of some of the company's officers.

The conviction of this great corporation for illegal practices serves a most useful purpose in the example it affords of the depths of degradation and criminality that the present system of production develops.

The trial of the sugar frauds case consumed a month's time. The beginnings of the story take one back to the days before the Spanish war. Then, as now, the American Sugar Refining Company, popularly known as the Sugar Trust, maintained two big sugar refineries in the neighborhood of New York, one the Havemeyer & Elder refinery on the banks of the East River in Williamsburg; the other in Jersey City, overlooking New York Bay. Here the sugar from the producing countries is unloaded, weighed, and the duty paid according to these weights.

On the face of it there doesn't perhaps seem to be a great deal of chance for fraud there, yet it has now been proved beyond a reasonable doubt that, since the enactment of the Dingley tariff in 1897, the Sugar Trust has bought and paid for on these docks millions of pounds of sugar on which it has never paid a cent of duty. The duties thus evaded have aggregated in that time about $2,000,000. And this evasion has been due neither to mistakes nor technical errors on the part of weighers, but to systematic stealing by various fraudulent practices and devices, such as tampering with the scales.

That any corporation conducted on a reasonably sane business basis could have derived such a benefit without knowing it, is as unimaginable as that any corporation with all its officers honest would have long continued it, once it was discovered. Furthermore, it may be added, that it is just as difficult to see how any set of government officers not guilty of collusion could have been so long blind to

(Continued on page 2)

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

THE ONE HAS FULFILLED ITS HISTORIC FUNCTIONS AND MUST MAKE WAY FOR THE OTHER.

By J. C. Custer, Bridgeport, Conn.

Socialism, the all-absorbing topic of to-day, has taken hold of the toiling masses as no other movement has ever done before. Politicians, press and pulpit are recognizing it as the coming issue.

A short time ago Socialism was discussed in one of the Bridgeport churches. Everything went all right until the question was asked: "What will you do with the lazy man under Socialism?" Then someone in the audience sprang the remedy, saying: "We will shoot him." Of course, there was trouble at once, trouble over the lazy man, while the industrious man with a starving family on his hands was lost sight of. Socialism is not an industrial order by which the lazy man will be forced to work, but it is an order in which the industrious man will receive the full product of his labor multiplied by the arts and inventions that aid in production.

Many are apt to think that Socialism is impossible because "things always have been as they are." Even the Bible says: "The poor ye have always with you." But it must not be forgotten that the Bible says many things; among others, it says: "He who labors not, neither shall he eat." A moment's reflection, however, will show that things were not always as they are now. We did not always ride in trolley cars; our mothers and grandmothers did not always have sewing machines and pianos; we did not always have multi-millionaires on one hand, and paupers on the other; nor did we always live under the capitalistic system of production. Production, in its early stages, was individual, i. e., one man with his tools made the whole article and owned it. The articles were mostly made to order. This was the only method of production known at the time and was carried on in that way for ages. If one man employed another man he had to give him in wages an amount about equal to what he could earn if he followed his trade independently. All was hand production, very hard and slow.

Then by degrees subdivision of labor was introduced. One man, instead of completing the whole article, now only made one part of it, while another man assembled the finished parts. In this way the efficiency of each was greater than before. This subdivision of labor made it possible for an employer to pay his help in wages an amount about equal to what a journeyman could earn by practicing the trade for himself, and yet, have a profit left by reason of the increased output through the scheme of subdividing the work. Up to this time the output could not be increased except by increased toil, but by organizing and subdividing labor the employer received a value that was created by others and for which he gave no returns. That was the point at which the cleavage between master and employee started. Since then it has widened, so that now we are confronted with the sad spectacle of seeing one class taking their places in the breadline, seeking shelter in the mission houses, committing suicide to end their miseries, while another class is revelling in debauchery, Seeley dinners and Bradley Martin balls.

The capitalistic mode of production began about in the middle of the eighteenth century. It was brought on by a number of inventions of labor-saving machinery. Many of these machines or devices were still driven by hand or water power, but with the invention of the steam engine, matters went forward in leaps and bounds. Production now was carried on in an ever-increasing ratio, while the subdivision of labor was extended, and skill was more and more eliminated. At that time the foundations for future large fortunes on the one hand, and intense misery on the other, were being laid. The result is that now we have a small class possessing nearly all the wealth of the nation, while the other, a large class, possesses barely 5 per cent. of that wealth; one class that produces nothing and has all, and another class that produces all and has nothing.

During the last century the inventions of labor-saving machinery and the manufacture of goods were enormous; the growth and extension of new enterprises was stupendous; a workshop, mine, mill or factory no more counted its employees by dozens, but by hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands. Competition was once considered the "life of trade," but soon it was seen that monopoly would be productive of more "life," profits. As the capitalist class began to realize this new truth, there grew up the individual corporations, and monopolies or trusts, and as a result of this we now have the coal trust, sugar trust, tobacco trust, oil trust and a hundred and one other trusts.

Formerly, a young man who was a master of his trade could set up shop for himself and become independent, but now, under trustified capital, that chance is gone for ever. Forty years ago Horace Greeley's advice was: "Go West! Young man, go West!" And the young man did go West and made a fortune, but the young man of to-day beats his way to a large city and works for a big corporation and lucky he is if he can do that much.

Trustified capitalism is what we are living under now, the next form of society will be Socialism, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Capitalism had a useful mission to perform for society, that of organizing the scattered industrial units, but now that its principle is fulfilled, it must give way to its successor, Socialism. To allow capitalism to continue longer, means that we will have disaster such as we are now going through. Just imagine the "captains of industry" playing the dog in the manger. They own the tools of production and distribution which they themselves can not use and do not want to use, but keep them under lock and key, and by doing so they hold the nation by the throat. At this writing, men, women and children are footsore tramping the highways and byways in vain search of a chance to make a living.

If it were a case of not being able to produce the necessities of life in a sufficient quantity then it might not be so hard to bear our suffering; we would have to make the best of it; we would gather strength and courage from the hope that some day we would be able to produce enough. But, as it is, we are suffering the pangs of hunger because we have produced too much foodstuff; we go in rags because every warehouse and storehouse is bursting with shoes, clothing and raiment; we are building palaces and live in hovels. Why should the working class be reduced to beggary? The tools of production are ample, men are willing and anxious to work, and the Republican national platform states that "There are in this country 3,000,000 square miles bursting with latent wealth waiting for the magic touch of labor and capital." Is Labor willing to apply that touch? Yes, Labor is chasing up hill and down dale in a desperate effort to apply that magic touch, but capital says: "Ye shall not unless I can make profits."

These conditions will never exist under Socialism. We never will suffer because of over-production. If we find that the good things of life accumulate too fast, we will cut the work day shorter and give the toilers of the land a chance to rest, a chance for recreation, a chance to study, acquire knowledge and culture, instead of wearing their lives away in mine, mill or factory for a mere pittance at best. It has been estimated that if the industries were organized, three hours' work per day for two hundred days in the year by every able-bodied man, with the aid of modern machinery, would be sufficient to produce an amount of wealth equal to what can be purchased with ten dollars per day now.

There is only one issue up for solution, so far as the working class is concerned, and that issue is Capitalism or Socialism. Capitalism means working class subjection; Socialism means working class salvation. Let the workers but get wise and the solutions will never be in doubt.

COST OF LIVING.

Soars Far Above Rise in Rates of Wages.

That living has soared rapidly upward in the last ten years does not need statistical proof. Common experience is enough for most of us. Yet the figures are interesting. For instance, take what the bulletin of the labor bureau calls the "annual per capita cost of the necessaries of daily consumption." It rose from $74.31 in 1896 to $107.26 in 1906. Coal which cost $3.50 a ton in 1896 cost $4.50 a ton in 1906. Manufactured commodities were thirty-two per cent. higher in 1906 than ten years before. What one calls raw commodities are fifty per cent. higher. "All commodities" averaged 35.4 per cent. higher. Rents have soared everywhere.

That wages have increased in a number of industries in this decade is equally true, but they have not increased correspondingly. The last government bulletin on wages covers an investigation into about 4,000 establishments, employing 334,000 persons, engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, the kind of establishments where, of course, the forces which raise wages act most freely and successfully. This bulletin shows that in 1906 the weekly wages of the 334,000 were 19.1 per cent. higher than in 1896—while, as said, the cost of all commodities was thirty-five per cent. higher. Wages increased 3.9 per cent. in 1906 over 1905, while the cost of commodities increased 5.9 per cent.

Now what does this mean? Why, simply this, that at a time when wealth is rolling up as never before (this country increased its wealth between 1900 and 1904 by about $20,000,000) a vast number of hard-working people in this country are really having a more difficult time making ends meet than they have ever had before. It also means that in a great number of other hard-working families the increase in wages has been so little in excess of increase in the cost of living that it may be almost said to be a discouragement instead of a comfort by intensifying a common conviction of the workingman that no matter how much he earns he will still have to spend it all in the same hard struggle to get on; that there is no such thing for him as getting ahead.—Ida M. Tarbell, in the American Magazine.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH?

French Postal Officers Who Spoke During Strike to Be Disciplined.

Paris, April 30.—The Cabinet has decided that seven postal officers, who are under inquiry for speeches recently made, shall appear before the disciplinary council.

The Cabinet is resolved to dictate to the council that the "suitable" punishment for them would be dismissal.

THE IRON COLLAR

By EUGENE SUE

Translated from the Original French by DANIEL DE LEON

This story depicts slavery under the Romans—an institution fraught with nameless horrors to its victims. The epoch of the story is that immediately preceding the Christian era, when the frightful excesses of the Roman aristocracy filled the measure of suffering to overflowing, and paved the way for the gospel of revolt preached by the Carpenter of Nazareth. The IRON COLLAR is one of Sue's greatest achievements.

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TRAGIC CONTRAST

Sumptuous Feasts on One Hand, Gaunt Starvation on the Other.

A comfortable public, those who are in neither extreme of the social scale may most impartially comment on the tragedy in contrast. Penury waits and weeps in wretchedness while plenty revels in wanton waste of luxury. Is it only a survival of the fittest that is typical in this contrast?

Two hemispheres gasp in astonishment at the splendor of Gotham's social extravagance in the recent famous Martin dinner entertainment, while the problem of the unemployed grows greater and more difficult for philanthropy to cope with.

There was once a beautiful queen who wasted the treasure of Egypt in profligate revelry. At a most wonderful banquet designed to dazzle the ruler of another nation, she dissolved two magnificent pearls in some chemical solution, and mixing them in a goblet of wine, drank to the health of her monarch guest. And her impoverished subjects found in this vainglorious display no new respect for their sovereign. The recent dinner party, where the feast was spread on a mammoth round table thirty-five feet across, and the floral decorations alone cost a comfortable fortune, is similar to the historical folly of the Egyptian queen. In this glimpse of Fifth avenue luxury run riot, the disinterested spectator sees a strange portent of coming rebellion.

The pulse beats of general revolution are more distinct, so declares astrological prophecy, than ever before in modern times. Social extremes and their contrast must be considered among the many signs of the times.

The tragedy of contrast is pressing its unwelcome lessons on the minds of American people. The sumptuous feast on Fifth avenue, and perhaps less than a mile distant, the bread line loaf and the lodging ticket! And this is only one illustration among many. Homeless and hungry men, whether through fault or misfortune, are ever recruiting the ranks of the unemployed. Hopeless children and ragged women are to be provided for, and charity struggles with the situation.

The tragedy in contrast is the play of human events. At this time, and the mighty pageant of excessive wealth and torturing poverty is sufficiently realistic to make countless millions mourn. Its pathos would seem enough to make even "angels weep."

Mammon has built a great chariot whose wheels are crushing and bruising humanity in the wild, idolatrous march of so-called progress. The money-mad few in the gilded chariots are deaf to the anguished moan of the victims in their path. They heed not the appeal for mercy from the needy throng forming a part of the great parade. They are too engrossed with the pomp and vanity of their own part of comedy to look for a while on the multitude below them who take the role of tragedy.—Margaret Scott Hall, in "The Carpenter."

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John Mitchell Exposed.
Socialism, Utopia to Science.
Socialist Unity.
The Working Class.
The Capitalist Class.
The Class Struggle.
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Religion of Capital.
Foundation of the Labor Movement.
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SUGAR TRUST'S PLAIN STEALING.

(Continued from page one.)

what was going on under their very noses.

Inspectors Transferred for Objecting.

That the efforts of some men in the government employ who long ago discovered the fraudulent practices, and reported it to their superiors, were in vain, is a sad commentary on the probity of some officers higher up in the Federal customs service. One assistant United States weigher back in 1896 caught a checker of the sugar company in Williamsburg tampering with the weights; he reported it, and was shortly transferred. A government weigher named Hyatt became head weigher at the Havemeyer & Elder refinery in 1897. He made a report to his superiors declaring that a company agent on the docks tried to bribe him. "See the cashier every month," wasthe way the agent put it, "and he'll give you an envelope. We do all our business with the head weighers, and we make it a good thing for them." Hyatt reported this talk, and later he, too, was transferred. Gascoigne, another assistant weigher in 1902, discovered irregularities, but didn't report them. "We've got influence enough to have bigger men than you put out of business," Spitzer, the company's dock superintendent, said in effect. "I didn't want to commit suicide," he explained on the stand. Later he objected to an attempt to run trucks by the scales without weighing them. He was getting altogether too troublesome, apparently, for soon he was got work elsewhere.

Juggling with Truck Weights.

Early in the administration of Surveyor Clarkson in 1902, a conviction that something was wrong led him to make a personal investigation at the Havemeyer & Elder refinery in company with Deputy Surveyor Vail. It was then discovered that after the trucks on which the sugar was to be moved had been weighed in order to determine the amount to be deducted, the company was in the habit of substituting lighter trucks for the actual weighing.

By this means the government was defrauded of the duty on six tons of sugar a day. This discovery resulted in the adoption of trucks of uniform weight, but nothing was done to the sugar company. Following this disclosure, and before it, other practices were in use. One of these was what is known as rolling the ball—turning the ball on the scales, by which the balance is made, so as to make a false balance. Another plan was to hang hidden weights on the beam, so that it could not rise to its proper level. Still another practice was the simple one of having the checker put his foot on the beam, but some courageous weigher "tipped the government off," and a stop was put to that by having the beam boxed in.

The Steel Spring Makes Its Debut.

It was some time after this, apparently about the beginning of 1904, that the sugar company hit upon the most ingenious and the surest method of perpetrating its fraud. This consisted of a thin steel corset spring, which was inserted through a hole drilled in the uprights or stanchions supporting the scales. If inserted at a time when there was a load on the platform, its pressure against the walking beam of the scale resulted in creating a false balance, and in making the load appear considerably lighter than it really was. This little device proved to be so satisfactory for the purposes for which it was designed that it was fitted to all the seventeen government scales at the Havemeyer & Elder refinery. Holes were drilled in the stanchions of each of the scales—hence the "case of the seventeen holes" to which Stimson called attention. So successful was the operation of this mechanism that it was used constantly down to the very day, November 20, 1907, when a United States Treasury agent found it in use.

Oh, So Easy to Cheat!

The method of use was simple. The scales were placed with the stanchions in a dark corner, next to the wall, and close beside this stanchion sat the company's checker, whose ostensible duty it was to record in a little book the weight of each load as it was read off to him by the government weigher standing at the other end of the scale. The checker's really importana duty seems to have been, however, to manipulate the steel spring through the hole in the stanchion, so that on each truck load, the company which employed him was saved the payment of some fourteen pounds of sugar.

Evidence was adduced at the subsequent trial to show that the company considered this special servive on the part of its checkers worthy of additional compensation. For although there were seventeen scales, all of which could be used for this purpose, practically all the weighing was done on six, and the six reliable checkers who, year in and year out, operated the little steel springs, all received extra pay in their weekly pay envelopes for this service.

Extra Pay in Secret.

It so happened that this sextet of confidential workers always found in their pay envelopes an additional amount of money, although on the outside, apparently to save the feelings of their coworkers, was written the same amount that was received by all the other checkers.

Whether or not any government weigher suspected what was going on, it is difficult to say. It seems almost incredible that they should not have discovered what the checkers were at, but there is no record that they did. Still, at least three of them did notice something peculiar in the action of the beam. One testified that sometimes after an apparently true balance was obtained and the poise was moved along, a new balance would be obtained. Another, who noted a similar phenomenon, testified:

"Sometimes before I would start to make the weight the beam would have a certain action that would indicate the beam was at a certain place, and suddenly I would realize that the beam was at another place altogther." But mysterious as these things were, no one reported them. Perhaps it was due to fear of the fate that others who had "told things" had met; perhaps, the fact testified to, that some government employes were seen to visit the cashier's office where they could have no legitimate reason to go, and regularly receive little envelopes from him, may have had something to do with their silence.

Company Leaves the Evidence.

All this time the sugar company was paying for its sugar according to consular invoices or the figures of the city weighers,irrespective of the easily ascertainable fact that if the government weighers' figures were correct, they were paying the planters for hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of sugar that they were never getting. The records of their checkers at the government scales were bound up with the records of the city weighers' checkers, and it would have taken but a cursory examination to prove that there was a discrepancy which meant either that they were cheating the government or that the planters all over the world had formed a mammoth conspiracy to cheat them.

For some reason not exactly apparent, the late H. O. Havemeyer, president of the company, was apparently interested in the possibility that some discrepancy existed, for he called in one of his confidential clerks and commissioned him to make schedules of weights which showed the differences between the duty weights and the purchase weights. This was done, and the cold facts were thus set forth where they could be plainly seen and where one of the two inferences must have been drawn.

Havemeyer Knew of Differences.

Havemeyer himself never called for a report and it is not on record that he ever knew its result, but the clerk continued to make the comparison and submitted it periodically to the treasurer of the company, who examined it and, without comment, told him to keep on making the record.

That was the situation when, in the fall of 1907, information was conveyed to the government by a former checker for the company named Richard Whalley, as to the nature and extent of the fraud that was being practiced upon it. Secretary Cortelyou at once ordered an investigation, and two special treasury agents were sent to the Williamsburg refinery on November 20. These agents were Richard Parr, who had already been making some investigation on clues of hi sown, and Brezinski. Entering a scale house they watched a government weigher, Japha by name, and Kehoe, a company checker, at work. Parr noticed that Kehoe had only one hand free and that the other was hidden in the dark recess behind the stanchion. Something in the movement of the man's left arm attracted Parr's attention, and he said:

"What are you monkeying with there?"

"Nothing," replied Kehoe.

"Nothing."

"Well, get up and let me see, anyhow," said Parr. Throwing his hand down back of the stanchion he felt the end of the steel spring. He then reweighed the load of sugar already weighed, and found it considerably heavier than the previous weighing showed. He carried his investigation further and found holes in every one of the seventeen government scales. While he was proceeding with this work, Spitzer, the company's dock superintendent, came up to him, and exclaimed, so Parr testified

"We've got to fix this thing up. If we don't it'll get a lot of people into trouble." Finding Parr obdurate, Spitzer tried a new tack:

"If you'll report these scales out of order you can name your own price, and it will be all right," he said, according to Parr's testimony.

"I know you're a good fixer, but you can't do anything with me," replied Parr, and turned away. Spitzer was subsequently tried in Brooklyn for attempted bribery, and acquitted, probably because Brezinski, Parr's companion, opportunely forgot what had occurred. Brezinski thereafter was dismissed from government service.

Indignant Denial.

After Parr's discovery of the fraudulent device, several indictments were found against the Sugar Trust's employes, and with that discovery as a basis the government began to work up its case. An indignant denial of wrongdoing was issued from the head office of the American Sugar Refining Company, and a generous offer made to place at the disposal of the government all the books and records of the company bearing on this case, as proof of its innocence and good intent. These, of course, have been obtained by subpoena anyway.

A further investigation on the field by the government brought to light the fact that the holes in the stanchions had been used for a considerable period. Some of them had been so worn by the constant pushing in and out of the little steel spring that it had been found necessary to mend them. In some cases this had been done by the insertion of a small block of wood into the enlarged hole; in others by driving several tacks into the under side of the hole at its inner end, over which the spring might slide easily without wearing the wood away.

The Evidence Clinches Itself.

When the government came to work up its case and to fix approximately the amount out of which it had been defrauded, it was found possible to present a piece of evidence which so thoroughly clinched the case that defence, when it came to be made, was so weak as to be negligible. This evidence consisted of a tabulation comparing the weights on which duty was paid and the weights for which the company paid the planters between the time the first cargo of sugar of December, 1901, arrived at the refinery and the discovery of the fraud in November, 1907.

It took a score or more of accountants working steadily for six months to complete the tabulation, but when it was finished the astonishing corroborative story it told made it well worth all the time and trouble expended. Never was there a better example of the deadly parallel. For every entry the weights on which duties were levied was set alongside of the weights for which the company paid the planters. In two additional columns were set forth respectively the entries on which the duty weight exceeded the purchase weight, and those in which an opposite result was revealed.

Brilliant "Exceptions."

When the table was completed it was discovered that the first of these two columns was practically empty, while that which told how much the company had profited showed a continuous column of black figures.

One thing that puzzled the government attorneys was why there should have been any exceptions at all. When they came to inquire into the matter they unearthed a new lot of interesting facts that still further corroborated the facts already ascertained. The two exceptions in 1902 were found to correspond with the visit to the docks of Surveyor Clarkson and Deputy Surveyor Vail. One of the exceptions in 1903 was due to the fact that the sugar was in hogsheads which required the government weigher to score his weight on the hogsheads with a scoring iron. Obviously, it would not do to have those figures staring the city weigher in the face when he came to weigh it. So that too was passed over. Fifteen cargoes that were allowed to pass in 1907 were easily attributable to the present at the docks, throughout the several weeks concerned of Treasury agents who were investigating frauds in the sampling of sugar. It was therefore clear that it was only when there was apparent danger of being found out that the fraudulent practices were abandoned.

MARX on MALLOCK
or
Facts vs. Fiction

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UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS

THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA.

By I Mackenzie Sydney, Australia.

The maritime strike in 1890, with its defeat of the strikers, was instrumental in bringing to life the political organization which had been germinating in the ranks of the working class. It was known as the Political Labor League, or the Labor Party. The workers were successful in electing their candidates in the working class districts of Sydney and in several outlying towns. Great was the enthusiasm of the workers at their political victory, but their ardor was damped when their representatives split in Parliament on Free Trade versus Protecton, and became the tail end of the two capitalist parties.

The first "Labor" platform embodied no concept of the class struggle between the capitalist and the worker, nor of the workers' historic mission—to put an end to economic slavery.

The second attempt at drawing up a platform was little improvement on the first, though the Conference, which was composed of delegates representing the trades unions of New South Wales, succeeded in adopting the principle of the "Caucus." This was to be held by their representatives before voting on any question of importance, real or fancied, in the State Legislature. The second aggregation of Labor members were equally as impotent in the cause of labor. Their whole thought and action was for "reform of the Upper House," "land and income taxes," etc. However, the most intelligent members of the rank and file were dissatisfied with the Political Labor League's platform, and 1897, amidst the howls of the office seekers (members of the legislature are paid $30 a week), a resolution was adopted declaring: "That the time has arrived for the nationalizing of the land, and the instruments of production, distribution and exchange."

At the election to decide who were to be the ten representatives of the colony of New South Wales in the Federal Convention for the purpose of creating a United States of Australia, instead of separate Colonies, the ten candidates of the Political Labor League were defeated. After this defeat, the executive board of the Political Labor League decided to have the Socialist plank removed at the next Convention.

In 1887, an organization came into existence known as the Australian Socialist League. This was largely due to the work of a man named Andrew Thomson, now dead. His name and work is revered by the Socialist Labor Party of Australia. The members of this league were very active and aggressive in the ranks of the Political Labor League, "boring from within" and supporting the the Labor Party in the political field. They allowed members of that party the use of their platform. Socialism, as it was then understood, was also advocated by the league, and a clause in its constitution prohibited its members from belonging to any other political party.

In 1897, after the Federal Convention election, the labor movement was a lifeless concern, politically and industrially. The Australian Socialist League was a mere handful, just emerging from the payment of a large debt, left to it by aspiring politicians who had used it as a stepping stone to position.

In order to meet the objections hurled at the Australian Socialist League, of preaching Socialism to the workers and urging them to vote for it, with no candidates on the ballot, it was decided to launch the political organization under the name of the Socialist Labor Party. The party entered the field in New South Wales with the full Senate ticket in the first Federal election, 1900. The succeeding state election was contested on practically the same platform of immediate demands, but the following annual convention discarded all reform planks and stood for one demand: the complete surrender of the capitalist class.

Each succeeding Federal Senate election was contested with the full ticket, but as the election laws require each candidate to deposit $125, which is forfeited unless he receives 20 per cent. of the votes polled for the lowest successful candidate, the Socialist Labor Party has been in the position of losing $375 at each election.

For this historical matter, I am indebted to the energetic National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, I. O. Moroney. What follows are my impressions of the political movement here.

The Socialist Labor Party is like its counterpart in America, of which it is undoubtedly the offspring. It is democratic in character, stands as uncompromisingly for the complete surrender of the capitalist class, and for the industrial union of the working class. There are organized two branches in Sydney, two in the country districts of New South Wales, and one in Melbourne, Victoria. The National Executive Committee is composed of members of the Sydney branches. This city is the location of headquarters and the party press.

The National Executive Committee draws up the list of speakers for each month. Considering the number of members, there is a marvelous amount of propaganda done. In the Public Domain, or Common, a meeting is held on every Sunday in the month except the first. On the first Sunday of each month the I. W. W. Club holds its regular propaganda meeting in the Domain.

On two streets adjacent to the hall, known as Marx Hall, meetings are held in the evening. These close about 8 p. m., the audience being then invited to the hall meeting. The first Sunday in the month is musical evening, members and friends contributing to the enjoyment.

Owing to the usual affliction which affects the Socialist Labor Party wherever that revolutionary organization has unfurled the banner of revolt, lack of finance, there are but few pamphlets printed. However, the party having received permission from the American Socialist Labor Party to print their splendid series of pamphlets, an appeal is now made in the official organ for $100 as a literature fund. The first pamphlet to be run off will probably be, "What Means This Strike?"

There is a greater proportion of speakers in the Socialist Labor Party of Australia than in America in ratio to membership, but that is partly owing to the fact that propaganda is all done in the English language. A foreign population is practically non-existent. The vast majority of the immigrants, known as "new Chums," are from Great Britain.

The gestures and oratorical abilities of the Socialist Labor Party speakers differ considerably, but the Socialist Labor Party of Australia easily secured my allegiance and enthusiasm. The arguments and logic used transported my mental vision to America and the fighting Socialist Labor Party. I again felt myself back among friends in the various Sections of American Party, and 'twas only too evident to me that the "Weekly People" has sown good seed here.

At the first meeting of the Sydney Branch, my card was received without question. Having copies of the "Weekly People," "Daily People," "Arbeteran," "Arbeiter," "Ragione Nuova," "Arbeiter Zeitung," leaflets of the New York Labor News Company, I was granted the platform and addressed the members on the Socialist Labor Party of America and its press. Great interest was shown regarding the papers, as such publications, excepting the Daily and Weekly People, had not been seen before. These papers gave them an opportunity to comprehend the system of agitation which must prevail in a cosmopolitan country.

I offered to answer any questions regarding the movement and the characteristics of the prominent men in the United States. All interest was practically centered around Daniel De Leon, who has certainly got as enthusiastic supporters and admirers in Australia as ever he had in America. It was humorous to watch the expression on their faces when I told them De Leon was about five feet two inches high. I think they must have anticipated a physical giant equal to the mental one. They admire him as the foremost man in the Socialist movement in the world to-day.

The Executive Committee gave me the platform for three successive Sundays, each meeting having a relatively large, and very attentive audience. Having several documents anent Socialist Party Assemblymen's attitude on "immigration," etc., in Wisconsin, besides other papers gathered in my experience in the labor movement in America, I produced the goods to prove that the statements in the "People" were correct regarding labor fakirs and pure and simple political Socialists. The greatest interest was shown on my criticism of Debs' attitude to industrial unionism, and on the Unity proposals of the Socialist Labor Party.

At the third lecture I gave my impressions of the labor movement in Australia. This was well received. Describing Australian conditions in American vernacular seemed to tickle them more than anything else.

As an organization is judged by its publications as well as its principles and tactics, some comment is necessary on "The People," the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party of Australia. This paper and the printing plant is the property of the Party. A committee of three conduct the paper: J. O. Moroney, General Secretary; F. Drake, Financial Secretary; O. T. Batho, Manager of the plant. The "People" of Austrial has a snap and zest to its articles which is peculiar to itself, and makes very interesting reading to the proletarist. The class struggle and the remedy for it is presented in lucid language, and it does not depart from the principles of International Socialism. Half of the paper is practically given to I. W. W. agitation on the lines of the original Preamble. This is the only paper in Australia that devotes space to advocating industrial unionism.

To the comrades and Sections in America, I recommend the Australian "People" as the only scientific Socialist paper in Australia. As it is necessary, at times, to refute the statements about the "workers' paradise" in New Zealand and Australia, it is well to have this paper at hand. The subscription price is $1 for six months, $2 for a year.

Tom Watson's History of France

A Criticism by H. K., Brooklyn.

"The Story of France, from the Earliest Times to the Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte," is the title of a work by Thomas E. Watson (published, in two volumes, by the Macmillan Co.), which is apt to hold the attention of the reader throughout and, by virtue of the fact that the author has paid close attention to the social and economic factors that dominated the different stages of historic development, is well worth the perusal, aye, the study of the Socialist.

The life of the ancient Gaul, the Roman invasion which brought to a hitherto free people the institution of slavery, the gradual decline of the Roman power and its crumbling away under the onslaught of the Frankish invasion (A. D. 481)—all this is vividly portrayed. Then follows the rise of the feudal system, the structure of which is well described, the advent of Christianity by the conversion of Clovis, the subjugation of the mass of the people in serfdom and the everlasting conflict between royalty and nobility from which royalty finally emerged victorious.

Side by side with this development we see that of the Church. Converting at first the great and the mighty and ever on the side of these and against the weak and lowly, a solicitor of and participant in the spoils, acquiring boundless wealth and hanging onto it with savage ferocity, spreading a pall of ignorance and of superstitious fear over the masses of the people so that they might be the more docile and submissive under the terrible exactions of a ruling system of which the Church was a part, cruel, relentless, steeped in worldliness—such are the cold historic facts about an institution professing to represent the doctrine of the meek and lowly Nazarene.

What is left in France of popular spirit finds refuge in the walled town, the commune. In the struggle for mastery between King and noble the commune plays its part, throwing its weight against the noble who waylaid and plundered its traveling merchant citizen, gaining and losing, losing and gaining, but on the whole gathering strength and developing that class which in our day has come to hold the reins—the bourgeoisie.

Royalty triumphant, reaching its height under Louis XIV, is full of the germs of disintegration. The subdued nobility, no longer the vigorous ruffians of an earlier day, largely dependent upon the favors of the King, is drawn into the swirl of a corrupt court, is enervated, effeminated, demoralized; a mere reed for royalty to lean upon; the mass of the people are in utter misery, exploited to the marrow, subsisting often below the animal level; the higher orders of the clergy wallow in corruption, the lower clergy in a state of sullen discontent. Such was the state of affairs during the latter days of the "ancient regime" when, finally, the pent-up forces of national life explode when the great historic drama of the French Revolution unfolded and a propless social system went down ignominously, carrying with it Church and state into the abyss.

As if a nightmare had been removed, the hitherto latent forces of the nation get into action. New men take the stage; and it is a magnificent spectacle to see how, almost with a rush, ability comes forth from hidden places. Privilege dethroned, merit comes to the front. The spectacle has its lights and its shadows like all else that the sun shines on. Good men and bad men and men indifferent, the unselfish and the covetous, the patriot sternly and dangerously honest, as well as the sneak and self-seeker; all these types of men appear and disappear.

But what a France there was compared with the France there had been! Royal France, during the close of its life, cut but a sorry figure among nations. Her colonies, gained when that regime had yet vigor, fell preys, one after the other, to England; her armies were routed on almost every field; her people were in the stupefaction of misery; her finances had been disrupted and every branch of her administration reeked with corruption.

But rejuvenated, republican France, confronted at every frontier by a coalition of continental European monarchies, its coast line menaced by England, its territory invaded, insurrections started in her midst by emigrant nobles and British gold; how vigorously and efficiently did not her people rise to the needs of so grave a situation! Her raw troops, poorly equipped and at first commanded by generals of the old royalist army in whom the soldiers had but little confidence, met with reverses. The nation was equal to the occasion. New men were put in charge of the armies, some of whom had never been soldiers before, and the republican forces, abandoning worn-out military tactics and inspired by high ideals, hurled back the invading mercenaries of Austria, Prussia, Holland and England; carried the war into the Netherlands, Germany and Italy, threatening to inflame their people with the hot breath of the Revolution and humbling them into the dust.

The Socialist reader will be gratified and instructed by the care with which the work makes clear the all-important measures taken by the Revolution on the economic field and how it is shown what influence these measures had upon drawing out and focusing, so to speak, the powers inherent in the nation.

The Socialist reader will be less gratified, though not less instructed, where the author deals with the period after the execution of Louis XVI, when the struggle between the bourgeois and the more or less sharply defined proletarian element begins. Here the middle class mind of the author gets the better of the historian. The forces that broke down royalty and entrenched privilege seem commendable; the forces that assail the bourgeoisie come to power and beginning to entrench itself against those who, as yet vaguely, seek to end all class divisions, seem less so. The latter are often referred to as "the rabble," whilst the former escape such designations. But, after making due allowance for the middle class tendencies of the former Populist candidate for President, the picture drawn by the author of the titanic struggle of the young republic both fascinates and instructs.

Moreover, we see him often above these tendencies, and freely give credit where credit is due, even when it must be given to representatives of "the rabble." Says he, when dealing with the period following the fall of the Girondists:

"Historians have not wearied of telling the story of the crimes of the Convention. The blood-stained record has been kept perseveringly uplifted to the gaze of a shuddering world. What has not been so industriously circulated is the story of the work of reconstruction which was attempted, the new system which was sketched, the new order which was planned. The guillotine, standing in gaunt nakedness before the ancient palace of the Kings, and casting its blank shadow athwart the eyes and upon the souls of men, is not by any means the surest proof of the inward nature of the men who built it, and who fed it with daily victims. No institution would willingly be measured by its mistakes or its crimes. The Church should not be judged solely by the stake, the rack, the dungeon, and the gibbet, though it made regular use of them all. Admirers of the old French monarchy and of its Grand Monarch would not cheerfully consent to have the case closed with no proof offered in its favor save the Dragonnades and the wholesale slaughter of the Waldensians."

And again, it is shown how the Jacobin Convention abolished imprisonment for debt, negro slavery in the colonies and sternly repressed the monopolist and speculator in food who, with French ports blockaded by England, was only too anxious, after the manner of such patriots, to enrich himself by making the extremity of the people his opportunity.

"Remember," says the author when speaking of these efforts to suppress the gambler in the people's necessities, "while these acts violate the freedom of trade, they were enacted to meet a special emergency; and they met it. France had fourteen armies to feed and clothe; the world was up in arms against her; no ship could come into her ports or go out, and she therefore had to live at home. She could not afford to let the inhuman monopolist now down the helpless people by putting starvation prices upon provisions. The law succeeded. The armies were fed and there was no famine in France that winter" (1793-1794).

The fact is that the men of the Terror were veritable humanitarians when compared with the ferocious, savage methods in vogue under the old regime. They had to deal with enemies who would have gladly slaughtered the Republic and its defenders, and they rid themselves of these by shearing off their heads. They did not break their bones on the wheel, one by one; did not roast them over a slow fire; and did not invent a thousand other fiendish tortures as Church and State had so diligently done before with their victims. When the test of numbers is applied, the guillotine begins to look like a rather harmless instrument as compared with the massacres of the Waldensians, the Albigenses and the Huguenots, to say nothing of the slaughter of the Jacqueries, nor yet of that of the Paris Commune of 1871, when the French bougeoisie showed that it could give cards and spades to even the old regime. Fact is also that, despite the gory-hued accounts of royalist, clerical and even bourgeois writers, the people were freer under this so-called reign of terror than they had ever been. The author makes this very clear. He says:

"The guillotine might chop off fifty heads a day, the prisons might hold several thousand prisoners and a tremor of terror might pervade the entire aristocracy; but the fifty heads, the thousand prisoners, the trembling aristocracy, amounted to a very small percentage of the 30,000,000 of French people. The Terror was a political condition; as a rule it affected those only who were accused of meddling with politics and obstructing the Revolution. It taxed the rich bourgeois, but the money was spent in his protection. It smashed the speculator in the necessaries of life, but he deserved to be smashed. It called for many soldiers, but these soldiers were fighting for their own rights and were cared for by those who called them out. Woe to the officer who betrayed them, robbed them, or let them suffer. During the later years of the old regime the French armies had not been able to find any troops they could whip. Under the Great Committee they found no troops they could not whip. They beat the English at Toulon, in Corsica and in Holland. They beat the Germans on both sides of the Rhine with equal ease. They chased the Spaniards across the Pyrenees, crushed the Italians and drove back in utter rout the stolid Russians, though led by the hitherto invincible Suvaroff. Officers in the army rose by merit, and merit was evidenced by deeds accomplished. If generals fled in panic before advancing foes without a fight, such generals were put to death. Thus the others were encouraged to fight. If commanders surrendered besieged cities without reasonable defence, such generals were guillotined. Thus the others were warned to hold out to the last extremity. If officers within relieving distance of a besieged town failed to send relief and the town fell, such officers likewise fell. Thus other officers were impressed with the importance of sending relief and one arm of the service compelled to aid the other. . . . Paris was tranquil during the Terror. There was no insurrection against the guillotine. Ordinary criminals were awed to inactivity: burglars, thieves and pickpockets are said to have disappeared. There were more places of amusement open than ever before and the crowds which filled them were greater."

The men of the Terror did not ask to enrich themselves at public expense. Most of them lived simple lives in the face of boundless opportunities. The few who loved pleasure in their private lives paid for it out of their own pockets. Unlike Marie Antoinette they did not shower sight drafts upon the national treasury. Perhaps, also, it would have been unwise, denoting a lack of the most ordinary caution. Times were unpropitious for the grafter. When a representative of the Government of the Terror abused his power, and committed unwarranted cruelties in the suppression of insurrectionary movements, such as Carrier at Nantes, Schneider at Strasbourg, etc., a commissioner of the Government would go after him and he would wind up his earthly career on the guillotine.

Of interest is also the author's estimate of Chaumette, a member of the Club of the Cordeliers. Says he:

"He had no belief in man's immortality, but had a profound interest in the happiness of his brother mortal. The world and this life being all he knew anything about, Chaumette believed in making the best of them,—making the world as free from suffering and as full of light as possible. He had banished the lash and corporal punishment from the schools; had suppressed lotteries in the city of Paris; had closed the gambling hells and had thrown open the libraries to the daily use of the public. It was Chaumette who had procured the order that patients in the hospitals, horribly crowded in those days, should have each a separate bed and that books should be supplied them if they wished to read. He had also obtained for lying-in women the use of a separate building, had softened the treatment of criminals and had influenced the government to found an asylum for the old and poor. These facts carry with them the convincing proof that Chaumette was not the vile creature the royalists and the orthodox have so bitterly denounced. . . . Chaumette honestly and earnestly hated the church and its gospel. He saw in the one an organized and tyrannical despotism and in the other a degrading and demoralizing superstition. He saw in the church an aristocracy intrenching itself in arrogant pretensions to divine authority and miraculous virtues; in its gospel he recognized the humiliating attempt to make mankind submissive, credulous, ignorant, cruel and cowardly. The clerical aristocracy taxed the people, even as kings and nobles taxed them; and ruled them with an iron rod, even as kings and nobles did. Thus the Church kept the pocket empty, while its gospel kept the head bent, the knee pressed to the ground, the heart burdened with sadness, the mind enslaved in infinite doubts and fears. Chaumette's was the one systematic attempt to abolish ecclesiasticism and to bring mankind to a reliance upon reason, nature and the loftier feelings of humanity. He followed, however, the bad example of the Church and practiced intolerance. He did not burn the priests, but he burnt their garments. Historians who are lenient with the Church where it has burnt the heretic, are merciless with this heretic who stopped at burning vestments."

These quotations portray the spirit in which a great subject is handled. Thomas Carlyle, that incomparable declamationist, is often taken to task for his biased treatment of this revolutionary epoch. American and English eye-witnesses of the scenes of court life before the Revolution as well as of the Revolution itself, such as Gouverneur Morris, Mr. Miles and Dr. Moore are frequently and interestingly quoted.

The book is well worth reading.

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SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1909.

The martyr cannot be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of flame; every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the world from side to side. —EMERSON.

RACY MAY DAY DESPATCHES.

The zest of the press despatches from Paris, to the effect that, "although the leaders of the General Federation of Labor, who are organizing a twenty-four hour strike for May 1, disclaim any violent or revolutionary intentions, the Government is taking elaborate preparations to preserve order on that day,"—the zest of all this is lost to those who are uninformed upon the transactions of the National Convention of the French Socialist party, held during the second week of April at the industrial town of St. Etienne. European exchanges, just arriving, are furnishing the needed information on the happenings at the Convention. Of these just two will suffice.

One was a short dialogue held between Herve and Guesde.

The debate was on whether the party should support the radical candidates at the secondary election, if the alternative was the success of a reactionist or a radical.

HERVE—"There was a time when I also supported the radicals. But there is a difference between Combes [the French Prime Minister at the time of the vindication of Dreyfus] and Clemenceau" [the present incumbent.]

GUESDE—"It is the same personages—"

HERVE—"But not the same policies—"

GUESDE—"It is the identical bourgeois party, only fighting us with different weapons."

HERVE—"No doubt, but the policies were so vastly different that even Guesde observed under Combes the republican discipline. [The "republican discipline" is the name given in France to the tactics of all republicans, whatever their faction, to stand together against monarchists and clericalists.] And for precisely the same reason have I also changed my weapons, and now recommend the insurrectionary method, which Guesde so eloquently defended at yesterday's session."

GUESDE—"Insurrection is not a method. It is a historic necessity. Insurrection is resorted to only after legal methods are exhausted. Revolutions are not made by the revolutionists. Revolutions are rather forced upon them. 'Minister Polignac [under Charles X in 1830] conjured up the revolution with his decrees as effectively as Louis Philip urged it on with his refusal to grant universal suffrage. Similarly will the bourgeoisie, by the removal of a legal ground to stand upon, compel the Social Democracy to resort to revolution."

HERVE—"We do not propose to acquiesce abjectly in the forms of etiquette prescribed by our so-called Republic. What we must avoid is a cattle trade with the political parties of the bourgeoisie."—Stick a pin there.

The other happening is that the resolutions introduced against Herve and expressly censuring his conduct fared ill at the convention. Those that came to a vote were defeated, others were withdrawn, and Herve was elected on the National Committee.

The French bourgeois Government understands exactly what all this, besides many other and similar incidents, means. The French bourgeois Government realizes that the French Socialist Movement has got beyond the weak stage denoted by failure of the several wings of a Movement to appreciate one another's importance, and manifested by mutual expulsion. The French bourgeois Government feels it in its bones that the good there is in the Guesde element, the good there is in the Jaures element, the good there is in the Herve element are not henceforth to neutralize one another by kicking one another to pieces, but are now operating harmoniously, mutually supplementing one anothers' features for good. Understanding, realizing and feeling all this, the French Government is as well aware now as it will be later, that the Socialist forces of the land will choose their own time and place to act, and that act will not be a riot of dislocated efforts, but a battle of combined and decisive forces.

There is much zest in the despatches that pretend there is any need of "preserving order" on May Day. The Socialists will see to that. The Government will have only its own agent-provocateurs to hector on May Day.

THE GLEDHILL-FOLEY BILL.

It is to be hoped that the women teachers of Greater New York, who are battling for the elemental right of equal pay with their fellow male professionals, have put on, and will keep on, the thinking cap, which their suffragist sisters are claiming is a special headgear of their sex.

Teaching is a hard occupation. It is rendered doubly hard by the niggardliness of the ruling class, which, ever intent upon paying out in the shape of taxes the least possible amount of the wealth they plunder from the proletariat, begrudges every penny it can for schools. The small appropriations made for schools—small considering the number of children to be schooled, and decreasingly small, considering the increasingly large number of children of school age—causes a congestion of children in the available school space. Apart from the injury to the pupils subjected to such "wholesale tuition," the strain upon the teacher, male or female, is inhuman. Considering that the congestion is severest in the primary and lower grades, where women teachers are found almost exclusively, the inhuman strain falls heaviest upon the shoulders of these. The least they are entitled to is as much pay for work that is at least as hard as the work of the male teachers.

Bent under the physical burden of small, and tortured by the moral sting of unequal pay, the women teachers have organized to remove at least the latter affliction. They have been making experience ever since.

Their first onslaught wrung from the Legislature a desired bill. The Governor vetoed it. His reasons were unique. He, one of those who advise Socialists to try and get one thing at a time, and who condemn Socialists for the "revolutionary posture of demanding the whole hog,"—he, raising a pietistic eye to "Equity," vetoed the bill on the ground that it would be "unjust to equalize the salaries of one set of women in the civil service without equalizing it at the same time in all the other civil service departments." The doughty defender of Equity forgot all about his "one thing at a time" preachments to Socialists.

The women were not disheartened, though disappointed. Their second effort matured this year in the Gledhill-Foley Bill, passed by the Senate and sent to the Assembly, where it died with the adjournment of the Legislature.

The women teachers have crossed the threshold of a hall, the threshold of which the proletariat of other departments of human toil have crossed long ago—the Hall of Experience where they are all to learn, first of all that they are proletarians; next, that the Government consists, not of their class, but of the class that exploits them; hence, that their salvation lies, not in begging favors from their masters, but in organizing with their whole class for the overthrow of the capitalist class.

Labor bills have passed Senates, to be defeated in Assemblies; they have passed Assemblies, to be defeated in Senates; they have passed both Senates and Assemblies, to be vetoed by Governors; and they have passed Senates and Assemblies and been signed by Governors, to be pronounced unconstitutional by the Courts.

The Gledhill-Foley Bill is primary lesson No. 2 for the women teachers. If these women's thinking caps are in working order, the women teachers should be able to skip many a grade and graduate speedily in the camp of the Socialist Labor Movement.

"Party platforms are made at night, in a hurry and mean nothing." So said Senator Bacon of Georgia on April 28, not in a private conversation, but on the floor of the Senate; not over a cup of cider and a dish of 'possum, but in solemn address upon the Democratic national platform. Bacon, thou spokest true, and the shot went home to thy Republican supposed adversaries, and rebounded back to the breast of the Democracy. And we take note.

The Sultan's property is reported to be "largely invested abroad." Abroad where? In America? Most likely. Which may go far to explain the readiness with which the Rep-Dem press announced on April 13 that "the Young Turks are crushed," and the slowness with which they afterwards swallowed their words.

SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCH.

The "Truthseeker" of April 17th reads the Socialist Movement of America its periodical lecture on the necessity of "tackling the Church."

For one thing, what has come down in history as the Church Question is not a Socialist issue—it is a bourgeois issue. There being no Church but is more or less politics in ambush, politics, at that, of the theocratic period in the race's history, the Church Question was one that pre-eminently concerned the Bourgeois Revolution—and resolutely did the Bourgeois Revolution tackle it. Like the Questions of Free Press, of the Right of Assemblage, of the Right of Organization, of the Right of Free Speech and such others, the Church Question involves a question of abstract right. As such these issues belonged to the Bourgeois Revolution, it being of the tribe of Revolutions that can only see Rights in their abstractness. It is otherwise with the Socialist Revolution. It knows no abstract Rights. Material facts are its basis—all else with it is superstructure, or reflexes that may, indeed, must be left to take care of themselves. Of course—as indicated a fortnight ago, when considering the Milwaukee elections—should the Socialist Movement in its march find its path blocked by any boulder of feudalism that the Bourgeois Revolution left unremoved, that boulder (the Question it raises) will have to be grappled with. But then it would not be as the Socialist Movement that the issue would be fought out. Socialism would then have to be relegated to the rear; it would be as a Bourgeois Radical Movement that the boulder would have to be blasted.

For another thing, people of the persuasion of the "Truthseeker" hold their noses so close to the Church detail that it confines their horizon within narrow bounds. A wider horizon strips the atheist of the glories some surround him with, and places him in the company where he belongs. The incisive dictum of Voltaire retains to this day all the poetic incisiveness of its soundness, and soundness of its poetic incisiveness—the biggot would immolate Iphigenia upon the altar of Diana on the eve of her wedding; the atheist would deflower her.

Social evolution has cut out the tasks for Socialism. The Church Question, in no aspect, is one of these.

NAGGING, AGAIN.

A further evidence is furnished by Mr. E. A. Grant of Cleveland, O., of the feverish effort that is being made by the "Interests" to supplant without abolishing the Political State.

Mr. Grant, evidently wording the views and even acting under the direction of the Banking Interests, has issued a booklet "offering a plan" by virtue of which "the financial legislation will be placed under the guidance of the United Banks of the country, where it properly belongs," and thereby taken from the hands of the Political Government, which hitherto has had the enacting of such legislation.

Mr. Grant's, or the Banking Interest's proposition, is a chip of the identical block from which Pure Food Commission, Tariff Commission, Railroad Commission, and all other such propositions are chips falling with increasing frequency. They denote increasing nervousness on the part of the "Interests" to have their cake, and yet eat it.

The Political Government is an inseparable feature of class rule. From the earliest period when class rule began to be noticed in history, there began a differentiation between the directive authority of production and the directive authority of repression. The latter had not existed before. A central directive of production is in itself an order-keeper. But order-keeping under communism is not the thing that it becomes under class-rule. The evolution of Government from that time on tended to strengthen its arm. Increasing numbers, belonging to a class that had to be kept under, required a proportionally increased exertion of power. At the same time the exigencies of the case required the identical social organ of repressive functions to be the general legislator. It thus happened that, while the ruling class ran the economic machinery independent from the Government, the Government exercised over the ruling class functions of regulation. Never pleasant to the ruling class, the functions of regulation had to be submitted to. It flowed from the general theory that underlies the Political State; moreover, such regulation imparted to the political Government a color of nationality, or popularity, or impartiality. In the measure that social evolution approached the present capitalist stage the appearance of its being national, popular and, therefore, theoretically impartial, become essential to the stability of the Political State, and thereby to the welfare of the ruling class itself.

This fact the "Interests" recognize. All the same the under-tow of the Social Revolution, which carries in its folds the rejuvenated Industrial State of old, is making the "Interests" feel uneasy, so uneasy that they are seeking to rid themselves of the functions of regulation by the State—and that brings about this nagging, which will do the "Interests" no good. When the Political Government goes, the "Interests" also must go.

THE ICE-GORGE OF CONTENTMENT.

When recently an ice-gorge blocked the channel of Niagara, and endangered three cities, newspaper correspondents deluged their columns with the news. A much worse ice-gorge, that threatens not three cities merely, but the whole land, lies right under their noses and is not even noticed. It is the ice-gorge of contentment.

"What ever is, is right," is the motto of each individual ice-chunk in this gorge, and his name is legion.

The cost of living soars out of all proportion to the increase in wages. In the last ten years living expenses have risen 35.4 per cent., while wages (even if all the alleged raises are true) have increased only 19.1 per cent. Yet the ice-chunk points to this latter figure, and contentedly says: "Wages are going up."

By the development of machinery, work is constantly being intensified, skill eliminated, and the individual and personal element removed. Still the chunk of ice echoes: "A little industry and ability will bring a man out alright."

From police sources, jewellers' associations, and even from professional charity and church organizations, the admission has several times strikingly been made in the last few months, that of the vast throngs on the breadlines and relief lists, only a negligible fraction are there through their own fault. Widespread industrial conditions, not personal temperament, are seen to be the cause of the several million unemployed in the land to-day. Even a Commissioner of Charities, Hebbard, dare not go to face a slave auction on Lincoln's birthday, which was a living refutation of his slander that the men on the breadlines "were bums and would not work." Nevertheless the chunk of ice coolly murmurs: "There is work for all. They are only lazy."

A U. S. Census report shows that families have been cut in half since 1790, the proportion of children in the population being now but 50 per cent. what it was then. The chunk of ice only closes his eyes to the fact, and dogmatizes: "People have too many children."

Prof. L. Thorndike of Columbia University shows in a monograph that only 25 per cent. of the children who enter school remain long enough to master the rudiments of the three R's, and that only one in ten ever is graduated from a high school—the falling off in both cases being caused by the necessity of going to work to help out the family. Like a clam in his shell the chunk of ice opines: "If people were better educated they wouldn't be so poor."

A Walker of New Britain, secretary of the Sunday School funds, elopes with the cash box and is captured in Mexico. A J. B. Rhinehart, banker and Methodist Sunday School teacher, wrecks his Pennsylavnia bank and is indicted for forgery. A Wm. K. Williamson, "model citizen," "reformer," pew holder in the Presbyterian Church of Ocean Grove, skips the town leaving thousands of dollars' debts. Only the other day, a John Sykes, of Trenton, N. J., lay preacher and lawyer, is arrested and charged with embezzlement and forgery. No little Connecticut town but has its pastor who is the hero of a family scandal. All impervious to this mountain of evidence, the chunk of ice declares: "The people only need religion."

A recent ingenious statistician calculates that it would take the entire wages of a locomotive crew for twenty years to purchase the locomotive they daily operate; and other industries in proportion. To all of which the chunk of ice replies: "Let people go in business for themselves."

It is the unanimous verdict of physicians, dentists, nurses, and others who deal similarly with a working class clientele, that the intensified work, the increased over-crowding, the continuously less sufficient food, the excessive nervous strain of present life, are constantly undermining the physique of the nation. Calmly and smugly the chunk of ice theorizes: "The world is getting better every day."

It is such contentment, preached by mistaken creeds and bred of an economic status now half a century in the rear, that freezes and holds together the ice-gorge which blocks the waters of progress and threatens to inundate the land with another barbarism. May the sun of Socialist propaganda melt it away before it be too late.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

OPEN LETTER

To Homer Folks
Sec'y State Charities Aid Ass'n.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir—

While not questioning the motives of your Association in drafting and promoting Bill No. 974 of the Senate for the purpose of "promoting more humane treatment of persons arrested for public intoxication," a careful perusal of the Bill with which you kindly accompanied your letter of the 13th of this month, requesting the support of the Daily People, convinces us that the Bill not only aims wide of the mark, but that it would, indirectly, tend to promote the very evil—intoxication—upon which are grafted the improper practices that you aim at remedying.

Inebriety being one of the consequences of the mental strain due to insecurity of making a living, and seeing that insecurity in obtaining a livelihood deepens and widens, the phenomenon of increasing inebriety is natural. We shall not here go into that particular branch of the argument which points to the waste of energy directed into channels that neglect the cause and grapple with its effects. We shall pass that by, and consider your position itself.

The Socialist Labor Party by no means rejects palliatives, absolutely and under all circumstances. The Party gives all needed weight to palliatives that will relieve immediate suffering, and thus afford relief while steadily keeping its eye upon the ultimate goal—the uprooting of the to-day iniquitous social system of which inebriety, together with its long train of evils, is but a consequence. If your Bill offered such a palliative it would receive the Party's support; at any rate, it would not meet the Party's opposition. Your Bill, however, so far from being a palliative, would aggravate the ill.

A twin sister of increasing inebriety is the evil of an increasing mass of public officials. The one and the other evil draw their sap from the identical soil of increasing insecurity, if not of downright inability, to earn a living. With economic opportunities for independent livelihood steadily reduced; with the mental worry to make both ends meet spreading ever further, not only is the rush to liquor as a nepenthe inevitable, but also the rush for office. A study of contemporaneous Federal, as well as State and Municipal legislation will reveal the secret that our legislators are hard put to it to find jobs for idle constituents. The existing jobs are not enough to go around. New berths must be provided for. These they strain to create. But legislation lags far behind what Panama Canals, Philippine purchases, enlarged Armies and increased Navies, new Courts with their retinue of tipstaves, new Boards for this and that and the other, new Executive Departments, etc., etc., can accomplish in the way of furnishing berths. The demand is ever on the increase. Our governmental machinery is to-day much in the fix that the Roman patriciate found itself in when the Imperial Republic began to take its plunge to destruction. The swelling number of Roman citizens barred from all opportunity to earn a living, clamored to be taken care of. The purblind ruling class could see only one of two things to do, and it flew from the one to the other, each time leaving things worse than before—it either arrogantly ignored the "clamor" of the "mob," with the consequence of bloody riots, which, although regularly drowned in the blood of the "rioters," never were quelled without the loss of patrician lives as well; or it yielded to the "clamor" by the creation of new legions and planning new expeditions of rapine to furnish the fresh legions with occupation. In the former case the cause of the evil was left untouched, in the latter it was intensified by broadening its area.

The task of providing employment by creating public offices is as bootless as would be the task of filling a bottomless barrel. It creates a class of official menials, with their heels gibed by the would-be menials left out in the cold. The mental strain, escaped by entering into office, is only changed into a fresh mental strain to keep it. The demoralizing effect of such a status need but to be hinted at. Inebriety just escaped, is bound to be plunged in anew. It is no accident, it is a significant fact, that excessive indulgence in liquor is a feature of our public employedom. Thus corruption and inebriety become blended into one.

Such is the only practical result that would flow from your Senate Bill No. 974. Though, probably, not intended to create additional public berths to accommodate would-be placemen unable to earn a living otherwise, as is so often the case with our charitable institutions, that, nevertheless, would be the only practical effect of the Bill. It produces a corps of new public officials. What may be expected from such, in general, has already been indicated. The special function of the officials, whom Bill No. 974 creates—being, moreover, the Malapropian one of mopping back the tidal flood of drunkenness that capitalist society fatedly raises—with them the temptation for corruption would be only all the greater, harder to resist, and more certain to spread pollution.

For these reasons The People regrets it can not meet your wishes to promote Senate Bill No. 974. We now have more public "servants" by the grace of the Political State than is good for the commonweal.

Very truly yours,
EDITOR DAILY PEOPLE.

No reader of The People should fail to read; and, having read, pass over to others; and, receiving it back, carefully preserve the report of the facts brought out at the trial of the Sugar Trust. Numerous though the proofs are of the fraudulency of capitalism, and of its inherent character as a law-violator, the facts in this instance are a bunch hitherto unparalleled, and good for future use.

Readers of the Daily People, who avail themselves thoughtfully of the information imparted in the instructive "Daily Biographies" by Frank P. Janke of Indianapolis, together with the choice selection of quotations with which he frequently illuminates the work of the author whose biography he gives, were recently afforded the opportunity to weigh the contrast between poetic sentimentalism and scientific soundness, upon a matter of deep interest to the Movement.

In the biography of Sir John Lubbock, the forerunner of the great Lewis H. Morgan in archeology and ethnology, the following weighty quotation is made from one of Lubbock's works:

"The true savage is neither free nor noble; he is a slave to his own wants, his own passions; imperfectly protected from the weather, he suffers from the cold at night, and the heat of the sun by day; ignorant of agriculture, living by the chase, and improvident in success, hunger often stares him in the face, and often drives him to the dreadful alternative of cannibalism or death."

In the biography of John Dryden, the poet of the rococo period of the dissolute reign of Charles II of England, the following typically Drydenic strophe on "Freedom" is cited:

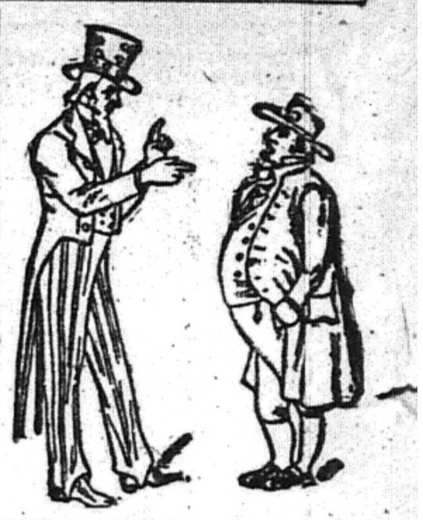
No man has more contempt than I for breath;
But whence had thou the right to give me death?
Obeyed as sovereign by thy subjects be,
But know that I alone am king of me.
I am as free as Nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.

There is no slavery or ignobleness comparable to the "freedom" and "nobility" of savagery. The slavery and ignobility of to-day are a slavery and ignobility with the potentiality for freedom, together with the nobility that is born of the same. The "freedom" and "nobility" of the savage are a "freedom" and "nobility" from which there is not yet the remotest possibility to reach either Freedom or Nobility.

The fishermen of Newfoundland, who grabbed ex-premier Sir Robert Bond and flung him into the sea, were not exactly what you may call polite. Moreover, they may be wrong in their opposition to confederation with Canada. At the same time it must be admitted that there is a pile of human wisdom in the biblical passage to the effect that the serpent is "cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field," and that man shall "bruise its head." A ducking is, surely, the least punishment deserved by double-dealing Sir Roberts, who, serpent-like, twist one way and move another—loudly talk "anti-confederation," "love for Labor," "square deal," etc., and quietly work for "confederation," "hostility to Labor," "unsquare deal," or whatever the case may be.

THE GENIUS OF WILLIAM MORRIS.

It is now thirteen years since the body of William Morris was borne in an open hay-wagon to its last resting place in the village church-yard at Kelmscott, on the upper reaches of the Thames. During the period that has elapsed, his name and fame have gone to the ends of the earth. Two pretentious biographies and a small library of lesser studies have been devoted to his career. His claim on posterity has proved to be threefold. He was, first of all, a poet of genius. His authorship of "The Earthly Paradise" and "Sigurd the Volsung" would alone ensure his lasting reputation. He was, secondly, a decorative artist without equal in modern times. He left his impress on every department of craftsmanship. Finally, he was a great pioneer of the Socialist movement, which since his death has grown by leaps and bounds. To this day his lion-head may be found beside that of Karl Marx in workingmen's clubs and Socialist lecture-halls all over the world.—Current Literature for May.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—You can't imagine what I heard a Socialist Labor Party organizer say the other night.

UNCLE SAM—Something worth while listening to, I'll warrant.

B. J.—Quite the contrary! He was trying to make his audience believe that under the present system we were all slaves—wage slaves, I think he called us; that we were sold in the market like pork, beef, and shoes, and a lot more such rot. Now, you don't believe all that stuff and nonsense, do you?

U. S.—Why, certainly, I do. Every fact in economics bears it out.

B. J.—What, YOU believe that YOU are a slave; that YOU are bought and sold?

U. S.—Yes, my man, let's be sensible, and not allow our vanities to blind us to our own undoing. WE ARE merchandise just as pork and beef; we ARE sold in the market just as shoes and stockings;—we ARE ENSLAVED. Look as you may into the works of our Revolutionary Fathers, never once will you come across the term: "Labor Market." The workingman was not then merchandise. Opportunities—natural and social—were then open to all—each man could be, and was, the architect of his own fortune, or misfortune. In those days had any one used the term "Labor Market," he would have been understood as little as if he had used the word "kinematograph"; neither of the two was yet in existence. As the latter, so is the term "Labor Market" a subsequent development, and that development is indicated by the pregnant expression "Labor Market"—WE ARE ENSLAVED!

B. J.—Then all that was gained by the Revolutionary and Civil Wars is lost again?

U. S.—But not beyond recall. Our slavery a hundred and odd years ago arose from our political DEPENDENCE upon a foreign power; accordingly, our freedom at that time had to be gained by our asserting our INDEPENDENCE. Now, then, to-day our slavery arises from the circumstances of our being merchandise lying on the shelves of the market—along with beef and pork, and potatoes; accordingly, our freedom from this new bondage must be gained by our stripping ourselves from the disgraceful condition of merchandise; we must pull ourselves away from the economic companionship of pork and beef, and shoes and leather, and all other merchandise; we must dare to claim our rights and perform our duties as MEN, as HUMAN BEINGS. To do that now, we must overthrow the present tyrant class—the capitalist class—the present tyrant syst[illegible]italist or Wage Slavery s[illegible] Republic [illegible]luction shall be [illegible]ll who work may be free. [illegible]

MINE WORKERS' DOOM SEALED.

Old Bosses' Agreement Riveted on Them for Another Three Years.

Philadelphia, April 29.—The special committees representing the anthracite coal operators and mine workers to-day signed the agreement renewing for another period of three years the wage agreement that expired on March 31.

CHEAPER THAN ROPE.

That Is Why Lives of Workers Are Sacrificed on High Buildings.

The fall of a rigger from the thirty-fourth story of the Metropolitan building was another example which shows that sufficient care for the protection of workmen is not taken by the builders. Would it be impossible to have a net stretched between two temporary beams just below the place where the men are working, in order to save any laborer who should fall? This might interf[illegible], and of a crane, but I see no re[illegible] are not used by riggers, except [illegible] builders don't think it worth while to save the lives of their employes.—N., in The Sun.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

SUPPORT STAUNCHLY THE PEOPLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The working class cannot afford to do without the Daily People. If the majority of the workers realized this fact there would be no need for an Operating Fund. As it is, however, only a few realize its importance at the present time, hence it devolves on these few to swell the Operating Fund.

Inclosed find $5 from Comrade S. P. Kazie and $25 from the undersigned.

C. A. Johnson.

Fruitvale, Cal., April 21.

GILLHAUS AT WORK ON PACIFIC COAST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The San Francisco "Daily News" of April 19 contained the following despatch:

Seattle, April 19.—There is much denunciation and considerable indignation in labor circles here to-day because of the statements made by August Gillhaus, Socialist Labor candidate for President last fall and the nominal head of the party on the Pacific Coasst, who in a speech here last night, denounced the anti-Japanese agitation in the West, declaring that to keep out the Japanese would harm rather than help the condition of the working class.

"We have nothing to fear from the Japanese workman," Gillhaus declared. "Had the people who are urging this exclusion proposition half as much spirit as the Japanese in California, they would have earned the right to call themselves Socialists. I saw Japanese laborers down here packing oranges and a number of them struck four times in one day, returning to work at an advance of a quarter of a cent a box. These are the kind of people the American Federation of Labor and the Debs Socialists want to exclude from our shores. The Federation took up the cry to fool the laborers and the Debs party to get votes, which failed to materialize."

Gillhaus is at work and putting in some telling strokes.

H. L.

San Francisco, Cal., April 20.

WISH THEY HAD HELPED OPERATING FUND SOONER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A small but enjoyable package party was held in the house of comrade Warner in New Haven, on Saturday night last, and the proceeds, which amounted to $2, has been turned over to the Operating Fund of The People. This is the first affair of that kind we have had in New Haven and the only regrets are that we have not had more earlier in the season. There was plenty of good music, singing, and recitations.

H. G.

New Haven, Conn., April 26.

RE[illegible]tion.

To t[illegible] For th[illegible]re the capitali[illegible] considered the religious r[illegible]e of their most efficient antidotes for budding class conscious in the proletariat. When conditions in a given industrial center reached the stage where the wage slaves could not be controlled by less expensive means, the most sensational and popular evangelist was imported in hopes that he might be able to blur class lines and re-establish "the brotherhood of man."

Such were the conditions in Denver for the past winter, when Gipsy Smith, a few weeks ago, began his "famous revival." The daily papers, which are usually engaged in a "death struggle" among themselves, seemed to drop all their differences and vie with each other in boosting "the great revival for the common good of the people."

The services of their highest salaried reporters were "donated" to the cause, and their write-ups were given the top of the front page, and decorated with glaring headlines. The city authorities, not to be outdone, threw open the doors of the new auditorium to accommodate the seething throngs. Hysterical ecstasy [illegible] prevailing spirit. In [illegible]asy was of the auto va[illegible] when the cool ones analyzed the throngs they were found to consist of upper and middle class people, with a sprinkling of the slum proletariat led in by the Salvation Army. The proletarian proper was conspicuous by his absence.

Very soon after Gipsy's departure, it was evident that there was disappointment in the results, even though he had admittedly "converted thousands." The same old nerve was still aching. Crowds of idle men were still walking the streets earnestly searching a job. The employment offices were still overwhelmed with applicants. But it remained for the Rev. B. B. Tyler to give expression to the dissatisfaction, and at the same time veil the real cause for the same. In the "Christian Century" for Easter he says: "The religious results of 'the Gipsy's' visit to Denver, so far as I have been able to discover, are almost nil, and the dollar mark was all over 'the Gipsy' and his efforts in Denver." Tyler even challenges his earnestness, and his ability to think seriously. All of which, and more, is probably true.

Verily, the light is beginning to beam on the capitalists themselves, that it will require something more drastic than a revival meeting to stay the social revolution; and that, so far as the proletariat is concerned, the Gipsy Smiths were "born to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the desert air."

J. D. De Shazer, D. O.

Durango, Col., April 21.

CANADIAN "LABOR" SHEETS AND "LEADERS."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—There is a curious stock of "labor" papers and labor fakirs in this town of Hamilton. We have here the "Hamilton Herald," one of the worst opponents of the Socialist Labor Party. It struts around in a cloak of "fairness" boosting municipal ownership schemes and trades unionism of the A. F. of L kind and the ignorant working people think that it is the fairest of the fair. The sheet is very popular among the local labor fakirs. One of its straw bosses is president of the Hamilton Trades and Labor Council; it labor editor used to be a delegate to the Council, and an ex-president of this Council is its advertising manager. I suppose that when the labor member of Parliament for East Hamilton has run his course in the House he will get the "printers devil's" job on this daily dope sheet.

The Trades and Labor Council, while opposed to entering politics, think it their duty to use their "influence" (whatever that means, it don't make the politicians quake) with the powers that be in getting laws passed in favor of Labor. As to politics, they voted $50 to the Independent Labor party. Of course that is not getting into politics; it is not officially endorsing the I. L. P., but it would be harder for the fakirs to run on the other parties' platforms as was the case at the last municipal elections. Their president, Charles Bird, was nominated by the Conservative party to run for alderman. He was a member of the Labor party, but he resigned and ran on the Conservative ticket.

This same featherless Bird is a clerk in a drygoods store which advertises the "union label" extensively. He was invited to a banquet of the manufacturers when they held a convention here a year ago and he was there "with bells on." He said, in a speech, that he was glad that the employers and employes were on good terms in Hamilton, as the absence of strikes showed. At the last Trades and Labor Council election he was nicely turned down along with the rest of his clique, but it was not for his stand in with the manufacturers' association or with the Conservative party. It was for work in connection with the Labor Day committee of which he was chairman. It appears they were paying themselves about $2.50 a day for being on the committee, whether they worked or not, and they got ten per cent for the money collected for the Labor Day demonstration.

The Trades and Labor Council stands in finely with the business men. They get numerous presents from businessmen every Labor Day for their prize drawings, as they call them. And it doesn't matter whether the gifts are scab or not. I saw one of the presents in their show window a year ago last Labor Day. It was from the Canada Cycle and Motor Company whose machinists were on strike at the time for a nine hour day. Some of the local fakirs on that committee thought it was an awful crime because one of the machinists went into the store and took the present out of the window without the committee's consent.

H. Simpson

Hamilton, Can., April 18.

AS TO THE MILWAUKEE ELECTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The editorial on "The Milwaukee Election" in The People of April 14th is interesting reading. Mr. V. L. Berger speaks of the opposition, the hostile attitude of the Roman Catholic Church against his Social Democratic party. I do not think that the statement Mr. Berger makes in regard to the warlike posture of Rome here in Milwaukee is overdrawn. There is really a strong current flowing from the church of Rome. There is a mighty opposition against the Social Democratic party right here in the city of Milwaukee. In so far, Mr. Berger is in the right. But now the question: Who fanned that fire? Who is, or was, instrumental in arousing the "faithful" to action? Sifted to be bottom, we find that it was chiefly the Democratic politicians. Thus, through political influence, the church has been, and still is, drawn into politics. We should not take it that the church as such began war against the Social Democratic party. Of course, there has always been opposition from this source, but in very few places have hostilities, bearing such an open character, developed to such proportions as here in this city. We must understand the cause before drawing a conclusion.

Mr. Berger ought to have stated why the Roman Catholic Church was so very hostile to "Socialism" in Milwaukee. He should have gone to the botton of things.

For years past there has been competition between the Democrats, led by Rose, and the Social Democrats, under leadership of Berger, competition to get the most and best berths for their political workers. Rose, seeing that his political fences were hauled down by the faithful of Berger, and his political career being thus endangered, knew that his only help lay in working in conjunction with the servants of Rome to stir up "bad blood" against the spectre of Socialism. And in this, Rose and his Democratic party have been quite successful as can be seen from the utterances of Berger himself. Mr. Berger ought to have stated all these facts. The readers could then have drawn their own conclusion. But he has kept from them the real causes in this case.

To-day it is Rome, and to-morrow it is Dordt that will meddle in politics, doing the bidding of low, cunning politicians who themselves have long ago thrown all religion overboard. In reality, there is no greater hostility against Socialism manifested from the Roman Catholic Church than from the different and many Protestant creeds; they are all hostile, to a certain degree, to all parties that make for progress, and have always been. Thereupon it is very dangerous, as The People justly stated, to meddle in church affairs, to take up the weapons against just one denomination, when all are equally guilty.

But, as a matter of fact, our time should not be wasted with any nor all of them. It is not in the line of industrial development. The bad elements in the church will disappear gradually of themselves. And the good elements we need not fear.

H. B.

Milwaukee, Wis., April 22.

MUST HAVE THE DAILY PEOPLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Inclosed find one dollar for which send me the Daily People for three months. I have been without the paper for some time and find that I am going backward, or like one groping in the dark.

J. T. W.

Everett, Mass., April 25.

A. F. OF L., A LA S. P. "INDUSTRIALISM."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last month the Chicago Federation of Labor expelled the Chicago Beef Drivers' Union because it failed to affiliate with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. A committee from the Federation made several visits to the local unions of beer drivers but got evasive answers as to what action was taken. Upon recommendation of the committee, and at the behest of the teamsters' delegates, the drivers were expelled from membership in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The brewery workers then got busy and renewed their efforts to get the beer drivers of Chicago to join the United Brewery Workmen's Union. At present the international secretaries of the brewers are in Chicago looking after the interests of their local unions and of the beer drivers. Letters have been sent out to every beer driver in Chicago urging him to affiliate with the brewerymen. Success was evidently crowning the efforts of the brewers in this direction when the local unions of teamsters in Chicago started to prevent, if possible, the beer drivers' affiliation with the brewery workers.

The below resolution speaks volumes as to the spirit which animates and pervades the A. F. of L., and also exposes the hypocrisy of those S. P.-ites who claim that the A. F. of L. is broadening to an industrial form of organization. What is really taking place is that the United Brewery Workmen, through sheer strength, are defying every decision of the A. F. of L. and of the international craft unions of teamsters, engineers and firemen.

What caused the A. F. of L. to readmit the brewers upon the expulsion following the convention, 1906, was not growth of belief in industrialism, but fear of the I. W. W., and the growth of a powerful industrial national organization. When, now, organized scabbery comes into bold relief in Chicago, it is well to remember those things.

The declaration of war upon the brewers in Chicago by the teamsters is embodied in the following resolution:

Whereas, The brewery workers of Chicago are about to center their fight on the keg and bottle beer drivers of Chicago to disrupt them, be it

Resolved, That we, the Chicago Teamsters and Helpers of Chicago and Vicinity, give our moral and financial assistance to the keg and bottle beer drivers of Chicago and vicinity; and

Whereas, The ice wagon drivers and helpers of Chicago can assist the keg and bottle beer drivers, be it

Resolved, That the ice wagon drivers and helpers of Chicago give locals No. 744 and 748 all the assistance they may require in bringing about a settlement of any difficulty that may arise between the teamsters and the brewery workers.

Committee:—
G. G. Sagerstrom,
Ice Wagon Drivers and Helpers.
M. Booth,
Coal Teamsters.
Ed. Coleman,
Excavating Teamsters.
John Sheridan,
Gen. Sec.-Treasurer.

Ind.

Chicago, Ill., April 19.

JOBS MYTH KNOCKED OUT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A friend of mine, reading in the newspapers that there was a "great demand for labor" in the Pacific Northwest, wrote the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company for a job. The letter he received in answer certainly disproves all statements that there is prosperity in that district. I enclose a copy of the letter.

D. R.

Peoria, Ill., April 22.

(Enclosure.)

The Crow's Nest Pass Coal Co., L'td.
Fernie, B. C., April 10, 1909.

Anton Picl,
Peoria, Ill.,

Dear Sir:—

Replying to your letter of April 6 would say that at the present time there are a large number of miners and mine laborers around our collieries for whom we are not able to find work. We could not advise you therefore to come here, with the expectation of securing work at once.

Yours truly,
Chas. Simister,
General Superintendent.

FOR PROPAGANDA IN THE ARMY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am intensely interested in a news item in your issue of last Tuesday by which I learn that the chaplain of the 14th Regiment, U. S. Cavalry, denounced army morals, and called for legislative action making religious instruction compulsory among soldiers. He says with no regulations to force the soldiers to attend divine service, atheism, skepticism and agnosticism prevail throughout among the rank and file.

This inspires me to urge upon freethinkers that they should shower their literature upon the soldiers in the army and not neglect those of the 14th Regiment stationed at Walla Walla, Washington. They certainly need it, to mix with the instructions of their chaplain.

Since the army is now recruited to its maximum strength it should be a good field for Socialist propaganda. We are all interested in the soldiers as brothers of our class. They are not to any great extent soldiers from choice, but because no other employment was available. We must sympathize with them as we do with the unemployed.

Those comrades having personal friends in the army should see to it that they have an abundance of Socialist literature for themselves and to pass around to others who have no friends to send them such matter.

There are no doubt many comrades having stacks of copies of the Daily People accumulated that they would be glad to make useful; they would be valuable in the army. What I have said of The People would apply equally well to good Socialist propaganda pamphlets.

A word to the wise should be sufficient.

H. H. Lane.

New Haven, Conn., April 15.

PAPAL SIMPLICITY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—According to despatches, the pope has said, "Woman can never be man's equal, and therefore cannot enjoy equal rights." That is certainly the acme of simplification! The pope might at least have enumerated what human qualities were necessary and why they were necessary in order to enjoy the right to vote. But had he done so, it might have transpired that there was no requirement which man had to be entitled to the ballot that woman did not have. It appears to me that citizenship is the one requisite to vote, and I fail to see where woman is not man's equal in this respect.

W. S.

New York, April 22.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

W. J., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—"Effendi" is not a name; it is a title. In Turkish, "effendi" means what in Eastern Europe is meant by "royal princes," that is, blood relations, lineally or collaterally entitled to succession to the throne.

A. T. C., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Nobody has any right to expect an answer by mail to a letter that goes unaccompanied with stamps. For instance, one touch of the button by any scheming capitalist could cause 50,000 letters to pour into this office. What is one man's right is another's. If one correspondent is entitled to a mailed answer, so would be all the other 49,999. To say nothing of the clerical force and their wages, needed to answer, the postage alone would amount to $500. This office has better use for its money than to spend it in such "politeness."

J. A., BALTIMORE, MD.—The point is admitted. "The workingman who delights in going to a church where he is told that this is only a valley of tears where he must expect to suffer resignedly and without a murmur"—that workingman can not be a Socialist. But then you must, in turn, admit that no amount of "fighting the church" would improve that workingman. His brains have been dug out, if he ever had any. Socialism is not surgery: it does not claim to be able to pump brains into an empty skull. It can operate only upon skulls with brains. Read the Sue story, "The Poniard's Hilt." A workingman just like the one you suppose turns up there, and is treated the only way such unhappy mental cripples can be treated. Likewise in the Sue story, "The Pilgrim's Shell."

H. H. R., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.—Marx's definition of "value"—meaning exchange-value—establishes value as the index of the amount of social labor-power crystallized in and necessary for the reproduction of a commodity. It follows that "value"—meaning exchange value—can rise or fall only in the measure that it is yielded by labor-power, and that labor-power is the sole source of "value." This definition, as Marx explains, applies only to merchandise, the quantity of which can be increased by the industry of man. The so-called value of ancient coins, old wine, old pictures, etc., is "price," not "value." They do not come under the category of staples, regularly producible.

Next question next week.

B. R., BUFFALO, N. Y.—A diligent search in this office has failed to reveal any traces of the manuscript.

J. C. L., YOUNGSTOWN, O.—The statement, "Any person who is affiliated with any religious sect or movement is not a fit subject to belong to the Socialist Labor Party," has no warrant. Its sweepingness can only be accounted for as the reaction, produced upon somebody's mind, by the action of such creeds whose clergy teach that "Socialism and the devil's work are synonymous." For further answer, see above to "J. A., Baltimore, Md."

D. B. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Now to your fourth question—

The "New Education" is a movement that looks to the elimination, from the curriculum of studies, of all the branches of learning, such as Latin, Greek, higher geometry, music, etc., which do not "help a man to earn his living," and to enlarge only those branches, mainly elementary, that do "help a man to earn his living." It is a movement that reflects the sinking standard of the people's lives.

Next question next week.

H. F., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Now to your second question—

Eugene Sue was a distinguished Frenchman of vast learning and generous impulses. Accidental contact with workingmen engaged in the revolutionary movement of France during the first half of the last century caused him to turn his mind to Social Questions. His great "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," now being issued in English by the Labor News, was a fruit of that happy turn in his mental activity. His most pronouncedly economic work was "Martin the Foundling." Sue was hounded out of France by Napoleon III for these noble efforts in behalf of the proletariat, and his fearless exposure of the immorality of the exploiters of the working class, and of all the social forces that protect the exploiters.

Next question next week.

J. C., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Now to your fourth question—

The objection to Unions on the ground that "the greatest shouters for them are the worst workmen who want to be carried along by the Union" betrays a mind that, if Christian, is Christian only as a lip-service matter: it does not recognize the brotherhood of man, or the behest "help ye one another" as a "practical" principle or behest; or a mind that, if scientific, has yet to learn the scientific fact that the human race is one. Unions are full of defective men, but these men are the product of a social system whose morality is "let the devil take the hindmost," and which morality is reflected in such objections to Unionism. Don't be angry. It is kindly meant. Learn.

Next question next week.

H. B., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—The knowledge that the capitalist pays the taxes is of prime theoretic, and of still primer practical value. In point of theory the knowledge helps making clear to the workers what their wages depend upon—the supply of labor in the market. In point of practical importance the knowledge saves the workers from being duped by bourgeois interests into bourgeois political parties. The knowledge is all the more important because of the optic illusion that Labor is a tax-payer. No workingman could be made to believe that he pays for his employer's house in the sense that if he joined his employer's party he would be saved the expense of the price of his employer's house. But most workingmen can be cheated into the belief that if they would join their employer's party and reduce the tax on leather they would be saved the expense of dear shoes.

F. C., EL PASO, TEX.—The value of the imports by the United States from Japan, including Japanese China, is $68,107,545. The value of the exports from the United States to the same countries is $49,631,223. This was in 1908. Accordingly Japan's exports to the United States exceed the exports of the U. S. to Japan and Japanese China by $18,476,322.

Next question next week.

T. J. V., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—The way to study is not to dig, and dig, and dig ever deeper in economics. Such a method frays the mind, and rather tends to incite hair-splitting. Never dig deeper than you broaden your horizon. Socialism is the great sea to which all other branches of human knowledge art tributary. Read history; read good literature; read up on geology; familiarize yourself with plain geometry, etc.;—all these branches will throw side lights on Socialist economics. They steady Socialist economics and fortify the mind.

S. S., CHICAGO, ILL.—Bernstein's economic position differs from Marx's in that Bernstein claims the middle class is not being worn out and down into the proletariat but is becoming larger and more influential. The allegations of fact with which Bernstein seeks to suupport the claim are bizarre. For instance, he adduces the number of small holders of stock, as if that fact did not rather prove the contrary. This aspect of Bernsteinism is not to the credit of Bernstein, an otherwise talented man. The slip can be accounted for only as a result of his anxiety to remodel the tone of the German Social Democracy in keeping with its bourgeois radical tactics.

Next question next week.

W. G. M., WEST SENECA, N. Y.—There is no I. W. W. paper in existence anymore. As to other questions shall make inquiry, and answer when ascertained.

T. M. H., FIELDBROOK, CALIF.—Charles H. Chase, 4 East 118th street, New York, N. Y.

W. G., PORTLAND, ORE.—If the 2,000,000 men reputed to be organized in the A. F. of L. were organized in the Socialist Labor Party, then all those of them who are engaged in directly or indirectly productive occupations, and that would be the large majority, would be found also organized industrially. With one and three-quarter million men, organized in an industrially constructed economic organization, with its proper political revolutionary spokesman and shield 2,000,000 strong, that would mean a center of attraction leavening fully 15,000,000 more people. Capitalism could not survive that a twelvemonth.

Next question next week.

ALL OTHERS—Wait till next week.

F. W. S., BRIGHTON, ENG.; S. H., COLUMBIA, NEV.; J. P. E., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; W. S., KIRKSVILLE, MO.; J. A. L., PHOENIX, ARIZ.; J. T. R., BRIDGEPORT, CONN.; J. F. D., NEW YORK; F. C. R., PLATON, KY.; C. J. W., NEW HAVEN, CONN.; W. R. S., WIGAN, ENG.; R. H. P., PATERSON, N. J.; D. B., PASADENA, CAL.; R. C., SPOKANE, WASH.; E. J. M., DULUTH, MINN.; M. W., LAWRENCE, MASS.; C. B., BRIDGEPORT, CONN.; C. H. T., ATTLEBORO, MASS.—Matter received.

Socialist Literature

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Collectivism and Industrial Evolution—
By Emile Vandervelde, member of the Chamber of Deputies, Belgium. Cloth, 50 cents.

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State—
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Socialism, Utopian and Scientific—
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Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848—
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By Achille Loria. Cloth, $1.25.

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Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalistic Production—
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By Karl Marx. Cloth, 50 cents.

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By Lissagaray. Cloth, 50 cents.

Wage, Labor and Capital—
(Includes an address on Free Trade)—By Karl Marx. Cloth, 50 cents.

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By Cosimo Noto. Cloth, 75 cents.

The Right to Be Lazy, and Other Studies—
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Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee was held at National Headquarters, on Wednesday evening, April 28th, with Butterworth in the chair.

Members present: Butterworth, Gollerstepper, Deutsch, Hall, Lafferty, Lechner, Malmberg, Rosenberg and Schwartz. Members absent and excused: Ball, Kihn and Schrafft. Members absent: Hammer and Hanlon.

Minutes of previous session were read and adopted as read.

Financial report: Income, $64.72; expenditures, $53.96.

NATIONAL SECRETARY REPORTED HAVING RECEIVED THE SECTION LEDGERS AND CASH BOOKS FROM THE PRINTERS, AND THAT THEY ARE READY FOR DELIVERY UPON RECEIPT OF ORDERS FROM SECTIONS.

National Secretary reported that the property of the Jewish Party Organ, "Der Arbeiter," has been sold to the N. E. C. by the Jewish Socialist Labor Federation; and that steps are now being taken in the same direction regarding the German Party Organ "Volksfreund und Arbeiter-Zeitung."

The committee having in charge the Constitution of the Lettish Socialist Labor Federation, reported that its work had not as yet been completed; and requested that another member be elected to the committee.

Moved by Deutsch, seconded by Schwartz: "That Kuhn be elected by the N. E. C. Sub-Committee to serve on the committee." Carried.

Correspondence:—From Wm. A. Applegate, New Haven, Conn., requesting speaker for May 2nd, meeting of the Political Refugee Defence League; complied with. Section Portland, Ore., regarding information for preparing work for Gillhaus's agitation in that State. Section Cincinnati, Ohio, reporting the expulsion of B. S. Frayne for contempt. J. C. Custer, Bridgeport, Conn., regarding "Unity Conference in Bridgeport." J. O. Johnson, Bridgeport, Conn., requesting information regarding Party organization work; national secretary was instructed to reply. J. U. Billings, Grand Junction, Colo., and George Anderson, State Secretary, Colorado S. E. C., giving information and reporting increased activity in the State. Illinois S. E. C. remitting on campaign fund lists, and reporting on Party matters. Washington S. E. C. sending monthly financial reports, reporting conditions in Spokane and Seattle, and on Gillhaus's work. F. J. Meyer, N. E. C. member from Washington, requesting information and documents from the national secretary; the national secretary reported having complied. I. Kronman, Cleveland, Ohio, reporting the Convention of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation. Jacob Procum, National Secretary, Lettish Socialist Labor Federation, requesting information relative to vesting the property of their official organ "Proletareets" with the N. E. C. of the Party. R. Katz, N. E. C. member from N. J., regarding election of members to the Sub-Committee. D. B. Moore, Granite, Okla., requesting speaker for meeting to be held in July; national secretary instructed to try and secure same. August Gillhaus, North Yakima, Wash., proposing plan to raise funds for agitation and Party press. National Secretary reported having sent out the proposed amendments of Section Cook County, Ill. Section New York County, N. Y., submitting proposed amendments to the Constitution regarding language federations.

Moved by Rosenberg, seconded by Gollerstepper: "To refer the proposed amendments to the Party Sections for seconds as required by the Constitution." Carried.

The national secretary reported that the vote, on the amendment of Section New York County to Section 13 of Article 2 of National Constitution, was closed and tabulated ready for checking.

Moved by Rosenberg, seconded by Gollerstepper: "That Hall and Deutsch be elected as a committee to check the tabulated vote." Carried.

Moved by Rosenberg, seconded by Gollerstepper: "That the seats of Hanlon and Hammer as members of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee be declared vacant on account of non-attendance." Carried.

The committee elected to check the tabulated voted on Section New York County's amendment reported it to be correct, and that amendment carried overwhelmingly; tabulated vote to be sent to Sections.

Adjournment 10.15 p. m.

Max Rosenberg, Secretary.

OPERATING FUND.

S. P. Kazic, Fruitvale, Cal....	$ 5.00
C. A. Johnson, Fruitvale, Cal..	25.00
J. Barndt, Perkasie, Pa.......	2.00
J. Jensen, Junction City, Col.	1.00
J. Andreas, Belleville, Ill....	1.50
J. V. Farrell, Fort Pierce, Fla.	1.00
Section Hoquiam, Wash......	5.00
J. Lemmon, Moyie, B. C......	.50
L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal.	.25
H. P. Welch, Mojave, Cal.....	1.00
J. Martin, W. Peabody, Mass.	1.00
P. J. Dwyer, Dunlap, Wash...	1.00
O. Gundermann, Wausau, Wis.	.25
J. O. Johnson, Bridgeport, Conn	1.00
A Native Son Slave, San Francisco	1.50
Section New Haven, Conn....	2.60
P. O'Rourke, Medford, Mass...	1.00
H. Halpern, New York	.40
M. S., Schnectady, N. Y......	1.00
S. Ungerlider, Chicago, Ill....	1.00
S. Benson, Bridgeport, Conn...	1.00
30th and 32nd A. D.'s New York	1.95
T. Grabuski, Lansing, Mich....	.25
J. C. Anderson, Kittitas, W'sh.	5.00
G. Anderson, Salinas, Cal. ...	1.00
S.L.P. Auxiliary League, Los Angeles, Cal.	25.00
Peter Farrell, Los Ang'les, Cal.	6.00
R. Konig, " "	2.00
M. Hanson, " "	1.00
L. D. Bechtel, " "	1.00
C. Hartung, " "	1.00
J. Feldman, New York	1.00
Nic Gerold, Jersey City	.75
H. La Belle, Bremerton, Wash.	4.00
Section Cook County, Ill......	5.00
M. Strauss, Rockville, Conn...	1.00
H. Rabin, Omaha, Neb.	1.00
E. Wenzel Sr. New York......	1.50
E. Moonelis New York	1.00
V. Chapovich, Redlands, Cal...	2.00
J. Lavagnini, Los Angeles, Cal.	.50
R. Hoffman, Phila., Pa.......	1.00
Carl Sahm, W. Lynn., Mass...	1.00
E. M. S., Tuolumne, Cal......	.50
Section Hartford, Conn......	7.00
B. Kyler, San Francisco, Cal..	2.00
J. Smith " "	1.00
W. J. Burns, " "	.25
Mr.Koenicke, " "	.25
O. Polk, " "	.50
Total	130.20
Previously acknowledged......	4,412.01
Grand total..................	$4,542.21

VIRGINIA S. E. C.

The State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party in Virginia met in regular session on April 25, with Rudolph in the chair. Present: F. Buxton, C. Rudolph, J. Bader, F. Jerene. Absent: F. Neff, excused.

Minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

Correspondence: From Mueller, organizer Section Richmond to S. E. C. regarding Party affairs in the State; also from Paul Augustine, National Secretary, with decision of N. E. C. Sub-Committee on the Norfolk County matter.

Decided that the date for the coming State Convention be set for Sunday, July 4, State committee to make arrangements.

The communication from Organizer Mueller, Section Richmond, regarding the State Secretary was turned over to State Secretary with instructions how to answer same.

The financial report was then read and adopted.

F. Buxton, Recording Secretary.

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WAKE UP!

Too Many of Our Friends Inactive Hinders the Work.

Although we put on more subscriptions to The Daily and Weekly than were cut off, our friends by no means made May Day a red letter day for subscriptions, as we had asked them to do. In fact, the large industrial centers, with one exception, were meagre of subscriptions

There must be made, and at once, a concerted effort, upon the part of members, and sympathizers, to spread the propaganda through the medium of the Party press.

Those sending two or more subscriptions were:

J. W. Stewart, Tucson, Ariz.....	3
F. Brown, Cleveland, O........	3
G. A. Jenning, E. St. Louis, Ill...	4
T. Haupt, Mansfield, O..........	3
J. Martin, Stevenson, Cal.......	2
L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal...	2
P. E. Nelson, Fruitvale, Cal.....	2
J. A. Arakelian, Santa Rosa, Cal.	2
R. Williamson, Adamsville, Ala..	2
P. Faber, Kent, O...............	2
G. M. Sterry, Providence, R. I..	2
E. T. Oatley, Plainfield, N. J....	2
A. Gierginsky, Hartford, Conn..	2
H. L. Johnson, Braddock, Pa....	2
S. Ungerlider, Chicago, Ill......	2
J. Isaack, Cincinnati, O.........	2

Labor News Notes.

"The Iron Collar" is the latest of the Sue stories ready for delivery in book form. "The Silver Cross," the next to come out, is well under way. The important orders of the week were:

H. Thal, New York..........	$34.50
J. Kircher, Cleveland, O.....	30.00
30 and 32 A. D. New York..	7.73
Edinburgh, Scotland.........	4.72
Omaha, Neb.	4.00
Tacoma, Wash.	4.00
33 and 35 A. D., New York..	4.03
Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.00
Hamtramck, Mich.	2.75
Portland, Ore.	2.50
New Castle, Pa.............	2.00
St. Paul, Minn..............	1.80
Jersey City, N. J...........	1.80
Los Angeles, Cal...........	1.60
Syracuse, N. Y.............	1.00
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St. Louis, Mo..............	1.00

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Daily People, 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	3.50
Arbetaren (Swedish Weekly) 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	1.50
Der Arbeiter (Jewish Weekly) 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	.50
Volksfreund und Arbeiter Zeitung (German Weekly), 1366 Ontario street, Cleveland, O., per year	1.00
Nepakarat (Hungarian Semi-weekly), 516 East Sixth street, N. Y., per year	2.00
Ragione Nuova (Italian Monthly), 206 Atwells ave., Providence, R. I., per year	.35

He who comes in contact with workingmen reading any of these languages should not fail to call attention to these papers and endeavor to secure subscriptions. Sample copies will be sent upon request. Address each paper as per address given above, and not as often the case to the Labor News.

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THEIR JUST FATE

Peabody, Sherman Bell, and Other Colorado Labor Crushers Dogged by Relentless Nemesis.

An avenging Nemesis seems to be pursuing the men who were responsible for the Colorado labor war in 1903, and most of the principals have been victims of a cruel fate in some form or other since the deportation period. This was brought forcibly to mind by the attempt a few days ago of John Holmberg to commit suicide at his home in Denver. He went into the basement, turned on every jet of a gas range and then lay down on the stove to inhale the fumes of death. He was rescued in an unconscious condition by his wife, and at last reports was not yet sure of living.

In 1903 he was state auditor, one of the big chiefs in Peabody's cabinet, and an ardent advocate of crushing union labor in Colorado. As auditor he was largely responsible for burdening Colorado wits its present immense "war debt." Later, when he retired from the office of state treasurer in 1907, Holmberg took with him $10,134.61 collected under the flat tax law, which was being protested in the courts. It is said this money has never been accounted for, and the recent investigation instituted by Governor Shafroth and State Auditor Kenehan is supposed to be the cause for the attempt at suicide.

James H. Peabody, the "War Governor," is a political and financial derelict. Recently he sought appointment to an office that would pay him $100 per month, and was turned down by his own party. At his home in Canon City he is known to be in sore financial distress. He attempted to promote a scenic railway to the top of the Royal Gorge, but could not secure sufficient financial backing to even begin to make a noise like work on the projected line.

Jesse McDonald, the "Stolen Goods Governor," who succeeded Peabody to office, in spite of the fact that Alva Adams had been elected by the people, securing 20,000 majority over Peabody, and, who as governor, continued the anti-union labor policy of the war period, has also felt the cruel hand of fate. A few weeks ago his father-in-law shot a female member of the former governor's family at the McDonald home in Denver, and then committed suicide. This has wrapped the McDonald household in a gloom as great as that which pervaded the homes of many deported union miners in 1903. McDonald was the republican candidate for governor in the last campaign and was defeated by Shafroth.

Judge Luther M. Goddard is now a private citizen and endeavoring to make a living by promoting real estate schemes. As a member of the state supreme court he was a leader of the tribunal in giving legal sanction to every act of tyranny promulgated by the Mine Owners' Association and the Peabody administration. At the election last November he was defeated. His fake testimony of alleged attempted assassination at the Haywood and Pettibone trials at Boise did not find sympathetic lodgment in the minds of honest men and women voters of Colorado.

General Sherman Bell, who, according to his own statement is "the greatest soldier since Napoleon," was recently arrested at Raton, New Mexico, for playing the soldier game in too strenuous a fashion to please the peaceful mountain greasers. As adjutant general of the state during the war period, he carried out the orders of Peabody and the Mine Owners' Association to the letter. After the war was over he became a mining promoter in the Cripple Creek district, and failed. On the low line between Victor and Cripple Creek a dismantled shaft house is pointed out to tourists as "General Sherman Bell's mine." It is typical of the present state of the great labor war general who is no longer befriended by the mine owners whom he so faithfully and energetically served.

No man who was then a member of the "Citizens' Alliance," in Cripple Creek, Pueblo, Colorado Springs and Denver, is now willing to admit it, for this organization was used as an auxiliary to the labor crushing machine erected by the Mine Owners' Association and operated by the Peabody administration. Many honest men were enveigled into this movement by the war fever of the time. Now they are ashamed of this connection, and want to forget it.—Pueblo, Colo., Labor Review.

HOUSING IN NEW YORK.

Overcrowding So Prevalent Due to Low Wages, That It Is Now Taken as "Normal."

Housing naturally occupies first place. It makes an appalling showing. Although rent swallows up from a quarter to a sixth of all income, forty-four per cent. of the families live in less than four rooms, while almost half of them have more room than one and one-half persons to a room, these being the standards of overcrowding adopted. Does the committee seriously consider four New York tenement rooms adequate housing for a family of six? Such a standard is "normal" only in the sense of being usual. Even accepting this standard as satisfactory, overcrowding does not cease till income rises above $1,100. The unadorned figures of overcrowding, dark rooms and the like facts tell an eloquent tale of civic neglect and "hindsightedness." New York's experience has an ominous lesson for other industrial communities with their swelling ground rents, planless growth, and lack of public control of the uses of land. That the expenditure of an exorbitant percentage of even a $1,000 income will not secure adequate housing accommodations is a social fact of serious significance.—Prof. Henry D. Mussey, University of Pennsylvania.

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Eugene Sue wrote a romance which seems to have disappeared in a curious fashion, called "Les Mysteres du Peuple." It is the story of a Gallic family through the ages, told in successive episodes, and, so far as we have been able to read it, is fully as interesting as "The Wandering Jew" or "The Mysteries of Paris." The French edition is pretty hard to find, and only parts have been translated into English. We don't know the reason. One medieval episode, telling of the struggle of the communes for freedom is now translated by Mr. Daniel De Leon, under the title, "The Pilgrim's Shell" (New York Labor News Co.). We trust the success of his effort may be such as to lead him to translate the rest of the romance. It will be the first time the feat has been done in English.—N. Y. Sun.

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PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the National Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.